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Does Socialism Have a Choice?
John O Nelson

Up From Journalism
Dennis J Chase

The Litterer as Hero
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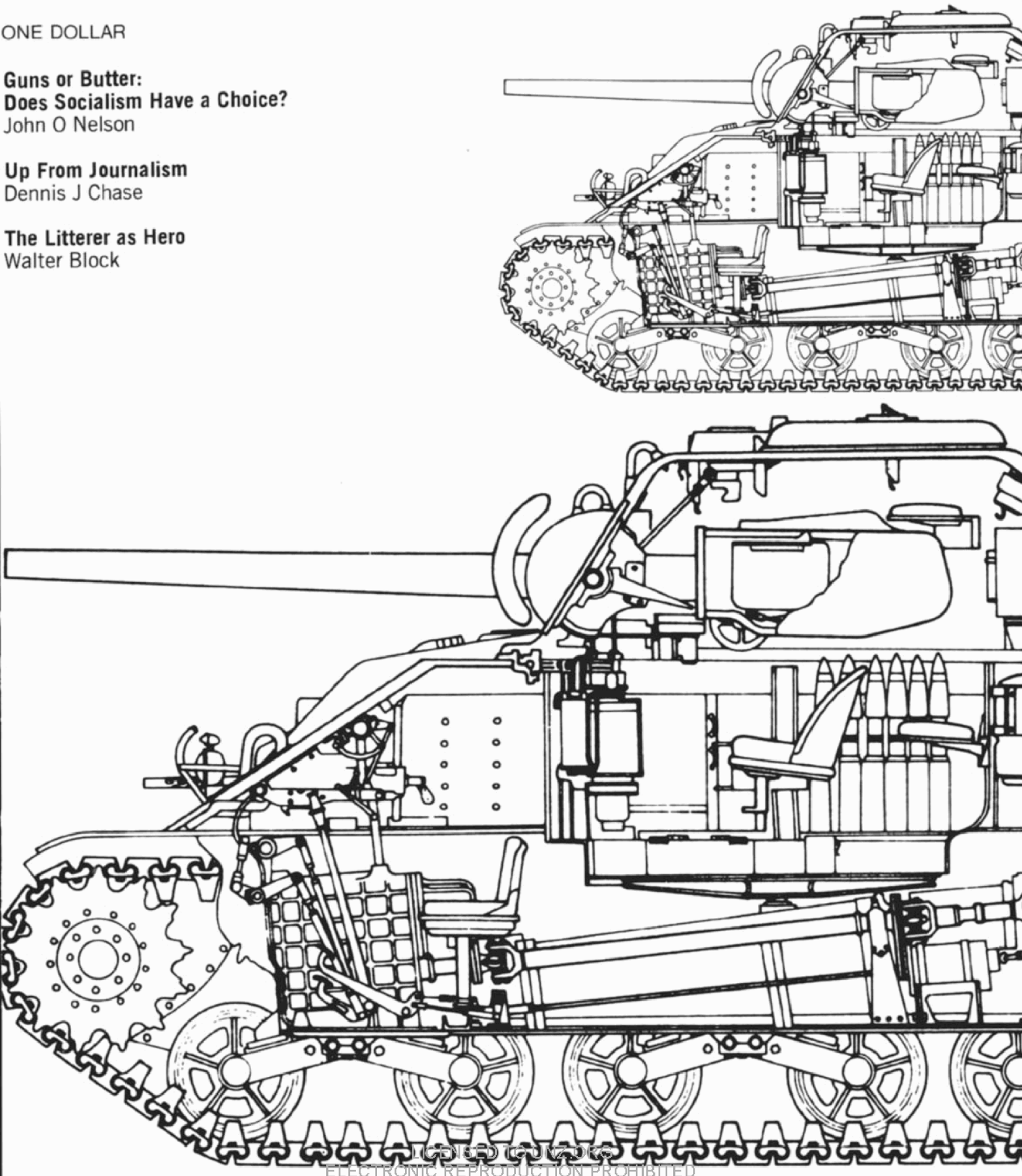

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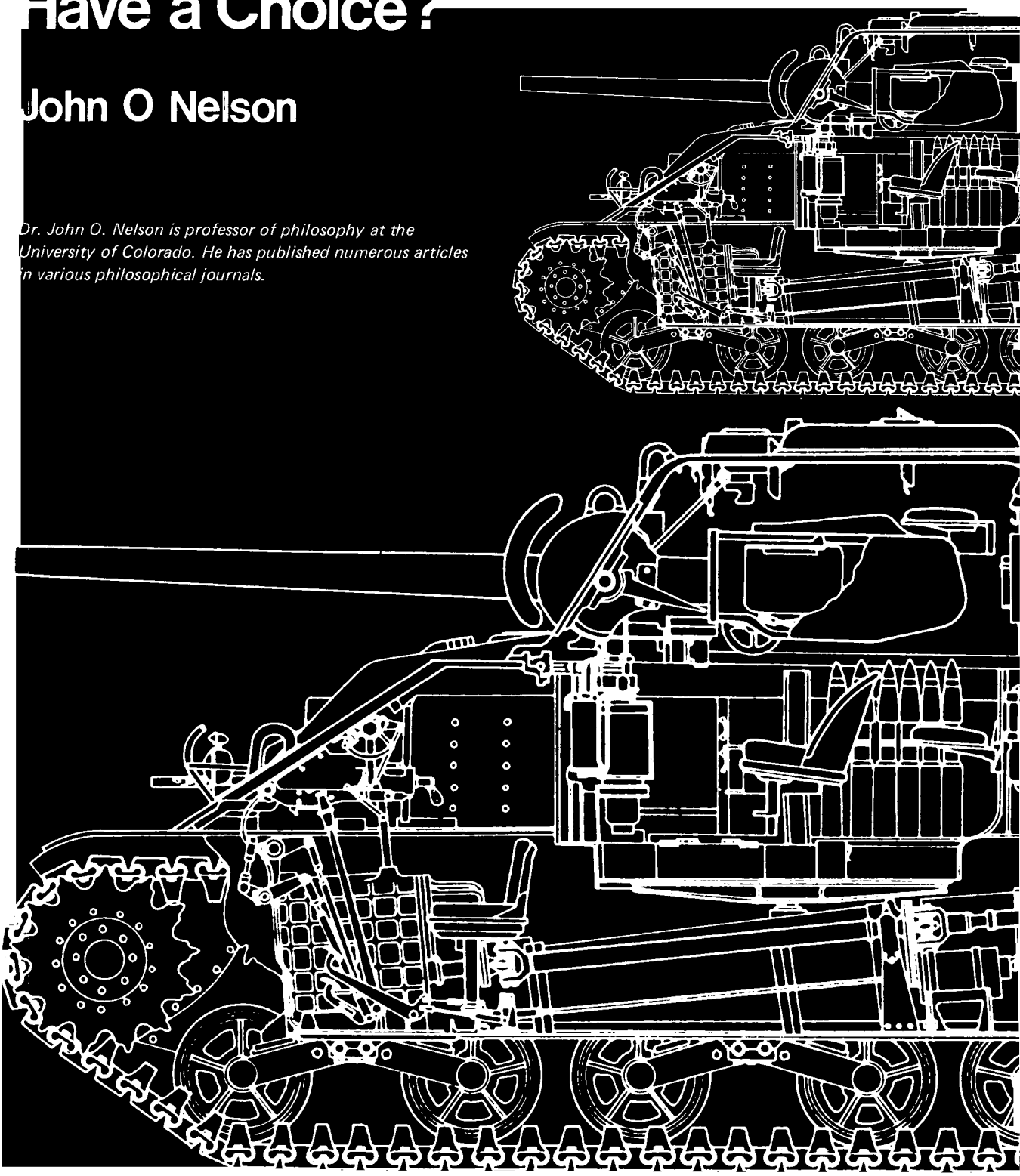
Guns or Butter: Does Socialism Have a Choice?

John O Nelson

Dr. John O. Nelson is professor of philosophy at the University of Colorado. He has published numerous articles in various philosophical journals.



History abounds with evidence that highly socialized economies are able to produce war goods in abundance but unable to produce consumer goods in anything like adequate supply. We read, for instance, that when the Inca rulers commenced their socialization of the Peruvian economy in the late 12th century, an increase in number and scope and success of military operations occurred, but also an increase in the oppression of the ordinary peasant and worker, along with a gradual decline in his living standard. Thus, by the 15th century, the Inca King, Pachacutec, having "completed his work of unification by laws which regulated work with great precision, established compulsory military training and reduced the standard of living of the people to the lowest point. No more feather ornaments or clothes of vicuna wool, no more simmering drinks, one drink only—*maize chicha*. This hopeless austerity," adds the author, "is today called basic leveling," and he notes wryly, "One could wish that the ruler had applied to himself and his family the same high principles which he imposed on his people."[1] We might, in our own times, apply the same descriptions to Communist Russia, Red China, or any of the other highly socialized economies that have been spawned in this century.

One would think that this abundant historical evidence on the nature and effects of socialism would give the American intellectual community—and especially the members of its universities—some pause in their advocacy of that doctrine. But not so. Generally, either they blithely ignore the plain evidence of past and present history or they twist it to the account of socialism. Thus, turning light into darkness, they will often argue in this fashion: "Socialist economies are demonstrably productive—consider their ability to produce war goods in abundance. That they do not produce consumer goods in abundance must, therefore, be due to mere accidents of one sort or another. When these accidents are eliminated, socialist economies will produce consumer goods in as much abundance as they now produce war goods."

A more militant form of the same argument is worth our particular attention. It goes: "Communist Russia and her socialist allies are forced to produce great amounts of war goods in order to counter capitalist (laissez-faire) aggressions and threats. It is this production of an abundance of war goods that prevents Communist Russia and her friends from producing an abundance of consumer goods. Once the capitalist (laissez-faire) world is destroyed and the socialist world thus permitted to live in peace, the latter will fulfill the productive dreams of its founders. So our first task must be to destroy capitalism (laissez-faire)."

LAISSEZ-FAIRE OR INTERVENTIONISM?

It is, of course, a mistake for anyone to refer to the economies of the United States, England, or the other members of the self-styled "free world" as laissez-faire or capitalistic (in the sense of "laissez-faire capitalistic"), even though this terminology is common in socialist and other circles. When Frances Trollope came to America in the late 1820's, to a large extent in the United States and to a small one in England, a laissez-faire economy did no doubt exist. Mrs. Trollope tells us, for instance:

> They [the Americans] knew not, they cared not, for her [Great Britain's] kings nor her heroes; their thriftiest trader was their noblest man; the holy seats of learning were but the cradles of superstition; the splendour of the aristocracy, but a leech that drew their "golden blood." The wealth, the learning, the glory of Britain, was to them nothing; the having their own way everything.
>
> Can any blame their wish to obtain it? Can any lament that they succeeded?
>
> And now the day was their own, what should they do next? Their elders drew together, and said, "Let us make a government that shall suit us all; let it be rude, and rough, and noisy; let it not affect either dignity, glory, or splendour; let it interfere with no man's will, nor meddle with any man's business; let us have neither tithes nor taxes, game laws, nor poor laws; let every man have a hand in making the laws, and no man be troubled about keeping them; let not our magistrates wear purple, nor our judges ermine . . . let every man take care of himself, and if England should come to bother us again, why then we will fight altogether."[2]

A government which imposes neither taxes, tithes, game laws, nor poor laws; a government which interferes with no man's will or meddles in his business; a government which leaves *each person to*

take care of himself, is certainly a laissez-faire government! We may want to discount this account of Mrs. Trollope's to some extent, but, distilled as it was from several years' personal experience running a business in the United States, a wide acquaintance with Americans, a keen, observant mind, and an attitude toward Americans and their manners that was by no means sympathetic, it cannot, on the whole, be quarreled with.

But if in the late 1820's laissez-faire largely ruled the American scene, it visibly no longer does, nor has it for several generations at least. The condition that now reigns is compounded of a determination by government, society, and individuals to see that taxes and tithes are levied everywhere they possibly can be, to see that game laws, poor laws, and their offspring, e.g., antipollution laws, pure food laws, social security laws, etc., etc. are multiplied everywhere they possibly can be, to see that everyone's business is meddled in wherever it possibly can be, and above all, to see that no one is allowed to take care of himself. This peculiar state of mind has been sometimes termed "welfarism," sometimes "interventionism," and its political manifestation, "the welfare state" or "the interventionist state." But the question whether laissez-faire capitalism or welfare-interventionism in fact prevails in the nonsocialist or noncommunist world is indifferent to the conclusion that I finally want to argue for in this article. That conclusion is that, **whatever sorts of nonsocialist economies may prevail, replacing them by socialist ones must result, not in a world at peace, but a world at total war.** My premise for this conclusion will rest, in turn, on a demonstration that it is *no* accident at all that socialized economies, though proving capable of producing abundances of war goods, have historically proved *incapable* of producing even bare sufficiencies, much less abundances, of consumer goods.[3]

Putting my contentions in a nutshell, I shall maintain that the success of socialized economies in producing war goods and their seemingly discrepant failure in producing consumer goods can be traced to these two sources: **inherent differences in the distribution of war goods and consumer goods, and inherent differences in the motivations affecting the production of each.** I shall deal with the inherent differences of distribution first.

DISTRIBUTION OF WAR GOODS AND CONSUMER GOODS

Since the distribution of war goods rests ultimately upon the demands and calculations of a supreme military commander, we shall want to ask at the outset what criteria of requisition motivate this personage or body of personages. Does the supreme military commander, for instance, concern himself with the competition of men's appetites for satisfaction? With respect to war goods themselves, he clearly does not. Men have no appetite for tanks *per se* or bombs *per se.* What competition there is for war goods comes down to a few contending generals arguing matters of tactics, strategy, and logistics. This general argues, for instance, that he needs a thousand tanks placed in such-and-such a location in order to carry out such-and-such a plan; another general argues that the plan in question calls for five hundred tanks placed in such-another location, and so on.

In contrast, the distribution of consumer goods has as its end the contending appetites of everyone. People do desire food *per se,* clothes *per se,* cigarettes *per se,* etc. They vie in their consumption of these things; and they are immediately satisfied or dissatisfied in the distributions that eventuate.

We already see, then, the following inherent differences characterizing the distribution of war goods and consumer goods. The demand for *war goods* reduces, finally, to the demands of a *single person* or a singular group of persons, i.e., high-ranking military officers. The demand for *consumer goods* involves the demands of *everyone.* The requisition of the former rests not on the direct gratification of men's appetites but on such removed and abstract ends as victory, strategic advantage, etc. The ordering and parceling of the latter have as their immediate end the gratification of men's appetites.

Flowing from these differences in distribution and purposes are these further ones. The military commander does not have to concern himself with questions of an equilibrium between supply and demand. Thus, he does not have to concern himself with the question whether all the war goods he requisitions will be used up. Rather, the considerations that motivate his requisitions are of these sorts: Will there exist enough war goods to meet any hypothetical battle emergency? How many tanks are necessary to break through such-and-such a defensive line? Now, such questions and their answers are highly speculative and imprecise. Hypothetical emergencies on the battlefield, for instance, can take almost an indefinite number of shapes. One can hardly know what the enemy is going to do in any exact detail, and so on. Typically, therefore, war goods remain crated in warehouses or standing in fields, simply waiting to be used up. And if not used up, they are disposed of by being dumped into the oceans or converted into scrap. No one can be blamed for this wasteful and chaotic distribution. It is dictated by the inherent nature of war and by the fact that the goods produced for war are not *per se* objects of human appetites.

Those concerned, on the other hand, with the ordering and distribution of consumer goods must concern themselves with questions of equilibrium

"It is no accident that socialized economies have proved incapable of producing even bare sufficiencies—much less abundances—of consumer goods."

between supply and demand. For not only do they cater directly to the appetites of everyone but people's appetites are peculiar in these regards: in some respects, they are practically "bottomless"; in some others, narrowly constricted; in some respects, flexible and changeable, and in some others, rigid and permanent. There is, for instance, almost no limit to most person's appetite for display and luxury. Given the opportunity, one individual can consume the production of a thousand. Yet, people's appetites are narrowly circumscribed also. Men cannot eat hay; they cannot wear shoes of the wrong size; and some people cannot eat beef and others can or will eat very little else. Appetites change in all kinds of ways. The person who likes beef today may detest beef tomorrow. Other appetites and desires of men are as inflexible as rock. Because of the "bottomlessness" of men's appetites the situation can never exist where their appetites are exhaustively satisfied; but because of the narrowness of men's appetites, it is perfectly possible to produce an unusable plethora of some consumer goods, say, size two shoes. Since productive forces are always limited, the manufacture of an unusable plethora of size-two shoes may be reflected in a lack of size-six shoes and the latter in people going bare-footed. Can the person responsible for such erroneous requisitioning excuse himself like the military commander who says, "But who can tell what battlefield emergencies will come to?" Clearly not. What might or might not happen on a battlefield is sheer speculation; a vague cluster of subjunctives. But there is nothing speculative about whether persons are going barefoot or not, and that they are because of just this requisition or that one. Again, the person looking at a thousand unused tanks standing in a field does not see in them victory or defeat, security against an enemy, etc. But what can he, barefooted, see in a warehouse filled with unusable size-two shoes? He must see the shoes that he might be wearing but is not. And seeing this, he will be unhappy, angered, ready to sulk or riot.

I have sketched some of the crucial differences (but surely not all) that characterize the distribution of war goods and consumer goods. What even this partial sketch shows is that the requisition and distribution of war goods not only can but *must* proceed in a largely arbitrary manner; hence, a largely arbitrary and capricious method of ordering and prorating goods will suffice. But the distribution of consumer goods cannot be arbitrary or capricious. If it is, disequilibriums between supply and demand will be immediately occasioned, and these in turn will make themselves felt immediately in the dissatisfaction and outrage, if not the actual demise, of persons.

SOCIALISM USES MILITARY METHODS

One can perceive at once why socialist economies fail in the distribution of consumer goods; and why laissez-faire or free economies not only can but historically have succeeded in this enterprise. Socialist methods of requisitioning and distributing consumer goods are essentially the methods of the military's requisitioning and distributing war goods. Socialist requisitions and distribution are based on speculations covering hypothetical emergencies, economic strategy, etc., projected by a supreme economic planner or body of such personages. They are fated, accordingly, to incorporate all the insensitivity, imprecision, and arbitrariness of the military commander's requisitioning and distribution, without possessing, however, his transcendent prerogatives to be wasteful, imprecise, and economically absurd.

In contrast, laissez-faire economies have built into them what one might compare to an organism's homeostasis, a wondrously immediate sensitivity to all shades and variations of supply and demand, men's appetites both fixed and changeable, and the demands of justice. The possibility and basis for this sensitivity consists of the myriad minds and perceptions of knowledgeable entrepreneurs and the principles of trade and profit. This organic, as opposed to mechanical, interaction of individual minds and free-wills, combined with the principles of trade and profit, adjusts the requisitioning and distribution of consumer goods with mathematical precision and computer speed to supplies and demands and just proportions.

But why, we must ask, should faulty systems of *distribution* result in inadequate *production* of consumer goods? What is the connection?

We have already touched on one factor. Chaotic and arbitrary requisitioning and distribution of consumer goods will necessarily result—men being what they are—in unhappy and frustrated persons. Unhappy and frustrated persons are poor producers. One can expect, therefore, in socialist systems, producers of consumer goods who are indifferent to and even alienated from their work. But abundant production rests on conscientious and prideful labor.

Ignoring, however, the temperament of the producer, we might restate Kant's dictum, "Concepts without percepts are empty; percepts without concepts are blind," to read economically: "Distribution without production is empty; production without distribution is blind." What I mean in the last connection is this:

No matter how productive producers might wish to be—say, even that men worked as industriously as ants, producing from a sheer love of work—faulty and imprecise requisitioning and distribution must cut off and choke production. For production is not spun simply out of the good wills of men. Production involves the presence of right amounts of productive factors, raw materials, machines, transportation units, workers, etc. One cannot, for instance, manufacture ten thousand pairs of shoes (no matter how willing one's workforce) if the proper number of hides have not arrived, if the machinery is not in working order, if the workforce consists of unskilled persons, and so on. But the right amount of productive factors requires right requisitioning and distribution. Thus, an economic system that fails inherently to provide precise and sensitive distribution of consumer goods must, *a fortiori,* fail to produce adequate consumer goods. This failure in production must, in turn, cause to open up still further the already existing gap between adequate requisitioning and distribution and the requisitioning and distribution that in fact obtain; the latter, in a still further falling off in production; the latter in still further disequilibriums in distribution, and so on. Each revolution in this maelstrom of failures carries the economy with ever-increasing speed downward: first, through slow stages of feverish activity and thus seeming but illusory prosperity; next, through accelerating stages of grim austerity and exhortations of sacrifice; and then finally into that fragmentizing chaos of cynicism, despair, depravity, and universal misery which is the lot of men who have known but lost freedom. We trace here both the necessary and historical course of socialism as it infects an advanced economy of laissez-faire capitalism.

MOTIVATIONS AFFECTING PRODUCTION

There may still, however, seem to exist a serious lacuna in our argument. If the socialist system of distribution must choke off production of consumer goods, how is it that it does not choke off production of war goods? For have we not already admitted that socialist economies can produce war goods in abundance?

Now again two answers suggest themselves to this question. For one thing, when we speak of an abundance of war goods, we refer to a species of things which, as we have already noted, plays no part in the direct satisfaction of men's appetites. War goods are not subject to being devoured, therefore, in the way that consumer goods are. No "bottomless appetites," for example, yawn under them. The comparatively small maw of the battlefield is all that has to be satisfied. A thousand tanks, for example, may seem a very large number and amount of war goods. But say that these thousand tanks were translatable into automobiles at the ratio of ten automobiles to a tank. Ten thousand automobiles are hardly very many automobiles in terms of consumer appetites. What constitutes, then, an "abundance" of war goods does not translate into an abundance, but rather a meager outlay, of consumer goods. It does not follow, therefore, that the same productive forces that might be capable of producing an abundance of war goods would be capable of producing an even barely sufficient, much less an abundant, supply of consumer goods.

Motivation also, and no less importantly, enters into the discrepancy we are dealing with. Men are not in fact ants. They do not toil from a sheer love of work (supposing that ants do). They toil when and because they are motivated to.

Now wherever an abundance of consumer goods is produced, two motivations above all seem to be involved. Elliptically speaking, these are personal gain and the need to toil in order to survive. Within a context of "justice done," though not necessarily elsewhere,[4] these two motivations reflect the two faces of a single coin, private property rights.

On the one hand private property rights say that what I possess, trade for, or earn is not the possession of anyone else or any group of anyone elses. On this rock rests the equation, "The more I produce the more I gain," and on this equation, the motive implied in, "I work harder because I gain more." On the other hand private property rights say that I cannot claim the possessions, bartered goods, or earnings of anyone else or any group of anyone elses, and that hence I am "on my own." On the last rock rests the motive implied in, "If I do not produce I shall die." Needless to say, these two motivations will have their fullest play in laissez-faire economies.

What we must ask now is whether these two motivations which underlie, both in theory and practice, the production of abundant consumer goods can play any role in socialist economies and if so to what extent.

PERSONAL GAIN

Let us consider the motive of personal gain first. It might, on the surface, seem that far from socialism being inhospitable it is hospitable to this motive. Certainly socialist theorists have generally wanted to maintain that it is to "the Worker's" personal gain to live in a socialized economy. We shall not try to weigh this nebulous claim. What is clear, though, is that when we pass from the Worker (with a capital W) to the individual worker, socialist theory has a different story to tell us. As illustrated in the communist principle, "From each according to his

"An economic system that fails inherently to provide precise and sensitive distribution of consumer goods must, a fortiori, *fail to produce adequate consumer goods."*

ability to each according to his need," individual personal gain is mixed into the indiscriminate common pot, to be served out not according to production, but need. This is not an accidental feature of socialism or an idiosyncrasy of just some forms of socialist doctrine. It flows from that philosophy's essential principle, from the very notion of socialism itself, The essential principle, the very notion, of socialism is that the individual must give up his economic powers to society. But why must he? The answer is: so that justice will be done! And what is meant by "justice" here? In the last analysis what is meant is that the productive shall not be better off than the unproductive, the strong than the weak, the endowed than the unendowed, etc. If this were not the subtle, half-hidden central principle of socialism, socialism could claim no title to the production of the productive, the strong, the industrious, etc., for the latter, asked to contribute their abundant production to the nonproductive, the weak, the shiftless, etc. could and would indignantly refuse to.

The thought of a socialist economy sustaining itself on the production on the nonproductive while the productive produced for themselves is absurd on the face of it, and this condition above all others is what cannot be tolerated by a socialist notion of justice—and is not. "Social justice" demands that the productive produce for the nonproductive. The result is that socialist theory gravitates either to a rationed equality of distributions, as in Bellamy's *LOOKING BACKWARD*[5], or an inequality in which the productive, the strong, etc. are not only taken from and the unproductive, the weak, etc. given to but in which the productive receive *less* than the unproductive or needy, as in Marxist communism.

The theoretical gravitation of socialism is, then, always in opposition to the equation, "The more I produce the more I gain" and therefore to the motivation of personal gain. But is this the gravitation of socialism in practice? One should have to say: yes and no. When Lenin first took power in Russia, for example, he attempted to adhere to his theoretical advocacy of wage-egalitarianism.[6] Distinctions between different sorts of work in terms of pay received, titles bestowed, etc. were abolished. It is indicative that in a very short time this policy had to be reversed under the pressure of drastically declining production[7]; and in the so-called "retreat to NEP"[8] wage-differentials, titles, etc. were restored. The same fluctuations between theory and practice occurred throughout the dictatorship of Stalin and have continued to. It is clear, however, that no matter how socialism may compromise its theoretical principles in this matter, the latter must always vitiate practice and the motivation of personal gain remain in fact largely inoperative. Because efficiency of production is not judged by the market itself in socialism—but by politically oriented bureaucrats—political and other extraneous considerations are bound to enter into, and sour, the determination of who receives "merit" awards for productivity. In addition, those who do not receive equal awards or none at all for productivity are bound to feel that "social justice" is not being done, since the more productive person is being made "better off" than his "fellows."[9] Within a socialist context, therefore, any concession to the motivation of personal gain tends to create about as much disincentive as incentive to produce, for feelings of injustice result in feelings of dissatisfaction and these, as we have already noted, in disincentives to produce.

SELF-SURVIVAL

But, if not the motive of gain, can not socialism still call upon and exploit the motive of self-survival, implied in "If I do not produce I shall die?" It might seem at first sight that socialism not only can but that it must. For it is not mere theory but fact that, in a developed economy at least, men must produce in order to survive and that they strive to survive. To deduce from these premises, though, that the individual in a socialist economy must be motivated by the thought, "If I do not produce I shall die," is to commit a fallacy of division. The socialist, by definition, has to maintain that it should not be necessary for the individual person to see about and to ensure his own survival; society will take care of him; or, in the words of Dr. Leete in *LOOKING BACKWARD,* "No man any more has any care for the morrow, either for himself or his children, for the nation guarantees the nurture, education, and comfortable maintenance of every citizen from the cradle to the grave"[10]—this is the very raison d'etre and justification for *socializing* the economy, along with "social justice." When, in this way, an individual's responsibility for maintaining himself is shifted from himself to society or (what amounts in socialist practice to the same thing) government, the motive implied in "If I do not produce I shall die" recedes from the proximate foreground to the remote background. It converts, in fact, into an end transcending

the individual. I am not faced directly by the question of survival any longer; society is "guaranteeing" that. But then I am beholden to society; and flowing from this beholdenness is the transcendent duty to work for society. But before we turn to the last sort of motivation we might consider one further sort that takes place in human affairs.

So far as I know no socialist has actually proposed as an essential part of socialist theory that the production of consumer goods in a socialist economy is to be accomplished by the use of governmental force, punishment, prisons, etc. This has, however, long been the contention of nonsocialist thinkers. Thus, Spencer, in his prescient essay, "The Coming of Slavery," published as long ago as 1884,[11] writes:

> [In a socialist state] there cannot be as under our existing system, agreement between employer and employed—this the scheme excludes. There must in place of it be command by local authorities over workers and acceptance by the workers of that which the authorities assign to them. And this, indeed, is the arrangement distinctly, but as it would seem, inadvertently, pointed to by the members of the Democratic Federation. For they propose that production should be carried on by "agricultural and industrial armies under State-control": apparently not remembering that armies presuppose grades of officers, by whom obedience would have to be insisted upon; since otherwise neither order nor efficient work could be ensured.[12]

On the ground that a person who "has to labour for the society, and receives from the general stock such portion as the society awards him . . . becomes a slave to the society"[13] Spencer concludes that the worker in the "industrial army" stands "toward the governing agency in the relation of slave to master."[14] Now whether socialism is literally a state of slavery or not is perhaps debatable but what is not debatable is that both a slave and a subordinate in an army are kept obedient by the ever-present threat of punishment should they disobey. Nor is it debatable that to the extent that an economy is socialized—to the extent, indeed, that government intervenes in any way in an economy—economic motivations are expressible in such sentences as, "I produce because if I do not I shall be punished by the State." But even socialist theorists are generally agreed that coercion by persons, as exemplified in the slave state, is a deterrent to productivity in an advanced economy; and from the same premises one may infer that motivations based on fear of government retaliation are bound to be deterrents also, and not incentives, to the production of consumer goods.

But if the absence of fully operable motives of personal gain and survival and the presence of motives of punishment in the socialist state help account for the failure that all such states in fact seem to display in the production of consumer goods, they obviously do not help account for the discrepancy that concerned us: namely, that though unable to produce consumer goods in sufficiency, socialist states do seem able to produce war goods in abundance. Does this discrepancy rest entirely on the nonmotivational factors that we previously considered? We said that we thought it did not. Presumably, therefore, we need to ask what motivates men beside personal gain, survival, and the fear of punishment, these cupboards having proved, in the present connection, bare.

DUTY

Now in our discussion of what happens to the motive of survival in a socialist context, we noted that it converts to a transcendent end and duty. Elaborating, we can say that men may sometimes be motivated and spurred by some ideal or purpose which they consider superior to their own personal likes, interests, and lives. Spurred by love of God, for instance, medieval artisans and workers sometimes raised up cathedrals. Spurred by love of country men not only risk their lives on a battlefield but toil in mines, in factories, in shipyards. Call all these motives "transcendent motivations": here we locate not only the answer to our present question but the very sort of motivation that socialist theorists consistently appeal to in their admonitions and manifestoes to the worker. The worker's motive for producing is supposed by these theorists to be expressed in sentences like, "I toil out of duty to the socialist state" or "I toil out of love for humanity." Consider, for example, the following passage (among numerous others like it) in "The New Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1961":

> The fulfillment of the grand program of improving the living standard of the Soviet people will have world-wide historic impact. The party calls on the Soviet people to work perseveringly, with inspiration. Every one of the working people of the Soviet Union must do his duty in the building of a Communist society and in the struggle to fulfill the program for the improvement of the people's living standard.(15)

Anyone who would depend on transcendent motivations in the production of consumer goods, however, might well consider Machiavelli's shrewd advice to the Prince," 'Tis better to be feared than loved." In moments of transport, these transcendent reservoirs of men's energies may be called upon in consumer production. But they are reservoirs of energy invoking self-sacrifice, and impulses to self-sacrifice are generally either sustained by transcendence of ends or quickly dissipated by self-in-

"The production and display of war goods demands for its raison d'etre the threat or actual presence of war."

terest. But transcendent ends must be just that; they must not be visibly akin to oneself. If they are, their transcendence is almost at once eroded. The users of consumer goods, it goes without saying, are as such simply other persons like oneself. Appeals to a person to produce consumer goods for the love of God, or the love of Man, or love of country must therefore soon lose their aura of transcendence and thus their force.

We might take the concrete case of a workman producing shoes. We may imagine that with some effort he manages for a week to look at the shoes he is producing as shoes serving humanity. Sooner or later, though, he must look at these shoes as shoes other individuals like himself will wear or that he might wear. And then he must look with a self-interested eye. And then he must demur inwardly at toiling for "humanity."

In contrast, the producer of war goods cannot look at the tank he is producing as possibly satisfying the appetites of persons like himself. Thus, he can continue to toil under some transcendent end without that erosion of transcendence setting in which is engendered by self-interest.

If, then, we are to conceive realistically of the motivations that spur producers, we can call upon transcendent motivations in the production of war goods but we shall not want to in the production of consumer goods or not, anyhow, for any length of time. The problem for the socialist is that, theoretically, he can only call upon motivations of transcendence or, at the most, motives of transcendence supplemented by motives of punishment.

THE INEVITABILITY OF TOTAL WAR UNDER SOCIALISM

Both, then, from the side of distribution and the side of the motivations affecting production we can perceive why socialized economies have historically failed and must always fail in the production of adequate consumer goods though they may succeed in the production of adequate war goods. We can perceive, moreover, that the "why" in question has nothing to do with accidents; it has to do, instead, with certain hard realities of human nature and the objective conditions of distribution and production in advanced economies. The claim, therefore, that once the "laissez-faire" world is destroyed and the socialist-communist world is left to its own devices, people will enjoy a super-abundance of consumer goods shows itself to be a deadly lie. If that time comes (God forbid), the only abundance in production has to be in the production of war goods. Here alone will socialist rulers be able to point to successful accomplishment, even as today they advertise their benevolence and statescraft in May Day celebrations devoted, not to festive distributions of food, clothing, and automobiles, but to parades of tanks, rocket-carriers, and flights of jet-bombers.

But the production and display of war goods demands for its raison d'etre the threat or actual presence of war. It is thus absolutely predictable, politicians and *their* motives being what they are, that in the socialist-communist world which is so devoutly prayed for by so many contemporary "intellectuals" there will reign, should it come about, not the peace prophesied for it, but war of unprecedented virulence and duration. Though the fierce rulers of that world may not be so candid as Mussolini as to exclaim, "[We] above all do not believe either in the possibility or utility of universal peace. War alone brings all human energies to their highest tension and sets a seal of nobility on the people who have the virtue to face it,"[16] confronted with monumental and unrelieved failure in almost all other endeavors,[17] armament and aggression must be their inmost thought and constant policy.

Should it be objected that this prediction takes the claims of abstract theory too seriously we should want to reply that in social-economic affairs visible fact is the creature of theory. Thus, the theory that made the thriftiest trader "the noblest man" had as its creature the visible fact that the United States and Canada have a common border of three thousand miles without a fortification and have had for a hundred or more years. On the other hand, wherever one casts one's eye upon the socialist world, past or present, one finds a constant preparation for war, a constant posture of war, a constant aggression. One sees Finland attacked wantonly in 1939 by Russia and later the Baltic States swallowed alive; India attacked by China and Tibet swallowed. At this very date one sees Russia pointing her atomic warheads not only at the United States but at her socialist daughter, China; and China laboring to point an equal number of atomic warheads at her socialist mother, Russia. These visible facts, which are the creature of theory, also, of course, confirm our metatheoretical deductions concerning the philosophies involved.

(See page 12 for NOTES AND REFERENCES.)

Liberty.

Everyone talks about it.

3,000 of us are working for it.

What are you doing?

It's easy to sit around theorizing about the ideal society. And tempting to stay huddled in cozy little study groups, talking only to each other, and playing little games of one-upmanship.

It's easy, too, to rationalize that kind of behavior. To say "the world isn't ready to accept the things we propose." Or "until we get the last tiny details of utopia worked out, we can't begin to implement our plans."

But every day you wait, the shadows of statism are growing a little deeper. The distances we have to go to reach that ideal society grows a little longer. And time grows a little shorter.

Three thousand people who believe in liberty aren't sitting around any more. They're working at changing things out in the real world.

Why don't you join us? Before it's too late.

Libertarian Party
Box 31638
Aurora,
Colorado 80011.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Bertram Flornoy, *THE WORLD OF THE INCA* (Anchor, Vanguard Press, 1965) p. 178; see also pp. 113-16.
[2] Frances Trollope, *DOMESTIC MANNERS OF THE AMERICANS* (Vintage Book Inc. 1960), p. 406. One might ask, "And how did the Americans find this laissez-faire condition?" Mrs. Trollope has this to say: "A single word indicative of doubt, that any thing, or every thing, in that country is not the very best in the world, produces an effect which must be seen and felt to be understood." (p. 408).
[3] In speaking of economies producing or not producing goods I have, needless to point out, been speaking elliptically. It is, of course, people and not abstractions like *economies* who produce things. But their production is affected by the economic system they happen to live under and it is to convey this aspect of the matter that I have used the elliptical expressions in question.
A word also needs to be said concerning how I am using the terms "socialist," "socialism," and "socialized." The following contrasts will suffice, I think, to make clear how I use these terms. In a laissez-faire state, the government does not intervene in the operation of the modes of production and relations of distribution; in an interventionist-welfare state it intervenes in the operation by others of these modes and relations; and in a socialist or communist state it, itself, takes over and operates both—usually in the name of "the people." Thus, as Ludwig von Mises points out, the "interventionist state" lies somewhere between the laissez-faire and socialist state, but is ideologically pointed in the direction of the latter.
[4] For example, one might murder for personal gain; or, in a communist state, one might toil in production in order to survive because one is told that if he does not he will be executed or sent to a concentration camp. In neither case would the context be one of "justice done." For a fuller account of the difference between "force of circumstances" and "force of persons," the one operative in laissez-faire and the other in socialism, see this author, "Coercion in Capitalism and in Socialism: The Coercion of Events and Persons," 3 *RAMPART JOURNAL* (Winter 1967), pp. 21ff.
[5] Edward Bellamy, *LOOKING BACKWARD* (Dolphin Books), p. 67. When Dr. Leete is asked "By what title does the individual claim his particular share?" he answers, "His title . . . is his humanity . . . ." When asked if this means "that all have the same share?" Leete replies, "Most assuredly."
[6] For Lenin's theoretical wage-egalitarianism, see Lenin, "State and Revolution" in *THE ESSENTIAL WORKS OF MARXISM* (Mendel ed., Bantam Books), p. 180.
[7] See Lenin, *supra* note 6, pp. 96 ff.
[8] *IBID.*, p. 201.
[9] Instructive here are such passages from *LOOKING BACKWARD* as, "According to our ideas, buying and selling is essentially anti-social in all its tendencies. It is an education in *self-seeking at the expense of others.*" (Emphasis added.) Bellamy, *supra* note 5, p. 64.
[10] Bellamy, *supra* note 5, p. 65.
[11] In 45 *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* (April 1884).
[12] Spencer, "The Coming Slavery," in Ebenstein, *GREAT POLITICAL THINKERS,* (Rinehart & Co., 1st ed. 1954), p. 630.
[13] *IBID.*, p. 627.
[14] *IBID.*, p. 630.
[15] Krushchev, "The New Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1961," *THE ESSENTIAL WORKS OF MARXISM,* (Mendel ed.), p. 450.
[16] Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism," *READINGS IN FASCISM* (Swallow), p. 15.
[17] Some success may be achieved, history shows, in such things as seeing that the streets are kept clean, that passenger trains run on time, etc. But it is only a welfare-state that finds it difficult to cope with such simple things as these.

CAN YOU AND YOUR FAMILY SURVIVE A FOOD "BLACKOUT"?

Consider the power black-outs, gasoline shortages, accelerated depreciation of the dollar, gold above $100 an ounce, and sky-rocketing food prices. Who expected these happenings so soon?

Consider also the following statement: In view of deteriorating U.S. military, economic, and political conditions, it is likely that this country faces a catastrophic crisis within a few years. Nothing effective is being done to change the trend, and matters will get much worse before there is reversal.

Therefore, as a measure of insurance, it is time to stock up on gold coins (if you have not already done so) plus an emergency food supply. With passing time, such measures are becoming more costly.

Last year the U.S. had an overabundance of food. This year much of our food is in Russia, while our domestic food prices (including prices of storable items) are increasing at three times the rate previous to the give-away.

We see that farmers are now killing newly hatched chickens, for the feed has become too expensive due to the "sale" to the Soviet Union. And the Secretary of Agriculture assured us that food rationing is unlikely. (Could anyone forsee the need for such "assurances" one year ago?)

The Nevada Coin Exchange was among the first to advertise gold coins in libertarian publications as a security investment. Those who invested through us have already realized great benefits. Now we are in the forefront of advertising emergency food supplies, *also* as a security investment. Reflection on the past shows this to be necessary.

Nearly all grocery stores now sell packaged and canned foods. But we are distributing supplies from a Salt Lake City company with over twenty years of specialized experience in providing balanced, highly nutritious, excellent tasting food, which stays preserved for fifteen years and longer. The low-moisture methods used for this purpose require far greater effort and care than the usual processes, but the results — in terms of taste, nutrients, and longevity — are worth it. In addition, the expert design of these "ready reserve" food supplies eliminates guesswork as to what to store. This can be of utmost importance to health, especially if a food crisis persists longer than a few days. Fruits, vegetables, eggs, cheeses, grains, sugars, proteins, spices, cooking aids, and a wide variety of other foods are included, together with a culinary book containing many outstanding recipes and ideas.

A year's supply for one person weighs 542 pounds, comes in 17 cases, and occupies less than a cubic yard. The present price (reached after two increases in the last six months) is $343 plus shipping charges (varying between $20 and $50 depending on location). This is a bargain even if we never have a food "blackout", for in spite of costlier processing methods, the ready reserve food we are offering is often less expensive than comparable grocery store items, which do not last as long and are far less tasty. If nothing else, the ready reserve supply thus serves as a hedge against burgeoning prices. But, should a food crisis materialize, the supply can be vital for sheer survival.

* * *

Our emphasis on food in this advertisement is not to downgrade the importance of gold coins. If we learn from history, we can expect the dollar to go the way of the German Mark in 1923. Much worse monetary conditions are probably coming, and it is not too late to begin or enlarge a supply of gold coins. We offer: U.S. $20 gold coins at $204 each; Mexican 50 Pesos at $200 each; British Sovereigns at $43 each. Call for latest prices and quantity orders.

All U.S. gold coins in uncirculated condition. All foreign gold coins in extra fine to uncirculated condition. Many other gold coins also available, plus uncirculated and circulated silver dollars.

ORDER FORM

PLEASE SEND:

1. A ____year(s) supply of PERMA-PAK emergency food, at $343 per one year supply.
2. Gold coins (indicate number of pieces desired):

____U.S. $20 gold coins at $204 each
____Mexican 50 Pesos at $200 each
____British Sovereigns at $43 each

Check, money order, or other convenient form of payment acceptable and payable to:

NEVADA COIN EXCHANGE
1104 West Sunset, P.O. Box 485
Carson City, Nevada 89701
Telephone (702) 882-2483

Bank references on request.
Prices subject to change without notice.

NOTE: Coin orders shipped within 4 working days via fully insured mail (postage paid) from Nevada. Food orders shipped from Utah via truck; allow 3 weeks for delivery. Shipping charges (varying between $20 and $50, depending on location) payable by customer on receipt of order.

Up From Journalism

Dennis J Chase

In the past decade, television has become the most valued source of news by the American public. The tabloid journalism of television news—with its emphasis on story line, conflict, and "kicker" at the end—usually results in the mindless melodrama in which television—and certain "new" journalists—excel. At the same time, television's on-the-spot accounts of daily events have made it the "most believable" source of news, according to one Elmo Roper poll. So the news, while distorted, is also believed, which astonishes many in the newspaper business. By the broadcasters' own estimate, news disseminated on an average half-hour television program would not fill the front page of most daily newspapers. What is the attraction?

The attraction is that television news programs provide a service to the news consumer—capsulization. They offer the amount and kind of information that most people think they need to get by on a daily basis (ignoring, for a minute, the distortions). Television capsulizes the daily, ongoing—and usually governmental—doings of society, and is supplying a market for which it is best suited. Says one television news producer: "The audience at dinner time wants to know the answers to three very important questions: Is the world safe? Is my hometown and my home safe? If my wife and children are safe, then what has happened in the past 24 hours to make them better off or to amuse them?" This is an audience constantly interrupted by "clattering dinner dishes, chattering dinner conversation and diminishing fatigue of a day at the office," he says. Television evening news "is not the highest form of journalism. It is partly an illustrated headline service and partly a magazine. And yes, it is part show busines . . . ." It also offers a daily news summary which is effective in providing a shorthand version of shorthand, incomplete events. The important point is that, for the moment, *this is all the average person needs to know* about daily events.

Newspapers are, for the most part, anachronisms: editors continue to fight for this same consumer of news which television reaches so effectively. A newspaper is a different medium than television. The printed word is not an image, gone in an instant, and the newspaper is not a television tube, demanding attention at a given time for its soap opera version of "new" journalism. But most newspaper editors continue to chase after the day's trivia, gossip, government-inspired press release or pressure group's brief, when such a policy, noncredible to begin with, has now also become outmoded. The message is killing the medium, which illustrates former editor Gerald Johnson's rule: "To use any implement for a purpose to which it is not adapted is more likely to ruin the implement than to effect the purpose."

MYSTIQUE OF JOURNALISM

A large part of the problem is a *mystique* about journalism which hampers any rational consideration of a journalist's product: news. This mystique holds that news is an indispensable commodity, the "first tribal need after warmth, food and women" (Kipling), and that the newspaper business is basic to a community's well being. The mystique extends to a newspaper's operation, which is usually described as if in the hands of history and beyond man's control. "The newspaper, like the modern city, is not wholly a rational product," wrote sociologist Robert E. Park. "No one sought to make it just what it is. In spite of all the efforts of individual men and generations of men to control it and make it something after their own heart, it has continued to grow and change in its own incalculable ways."

In fact, newspapers are not essentially different from other producer-consumer enterprises, all run by and for mortals. Newspapers change partly because the times change, but mostly because editors and publishers choose to change them, and it is this factor of free will that is usually absent from historical treatments of the newspaper business, as well as from current critiques.

Presently, there are two basic approaches to the news business, and by far the most dominant one is that of the *NEW YORK TIMES.* The minority approach—virtually a minority of one—is that of the *WALL STREET JOURNAL.* Perhaps the best way to understand the difference is to examine each newspaper's treatment of a randomly-picked (December 6, 1972) news day. The major page-one stories, with several lead paragraphs, for both newspapers' December 6, 1972 editions are listed below:

NEW YORK TIMES: 1. Impending Apollo 17 liftoff ["Apollo 17, the nation's last planned flight to the moon for years to come, was

Dennis J. Chase is a frequent contributor to local and national publications. He interviewed attorney Bernard Siegan for REASON's April 1973 issue, "The New Approach to Planning: Nonzoning."

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITION

VOL. CXXII.....No. 42,155 — NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1972 — 15 CENTS

City Sells New Bond Issue At a Low Average 4.98%

$285 Million in Securities Are Moved at Best Relative Interest Rate Since 1965, a Sign of Investor Trust

HANOI TROOP PLAN SAID TO BE ISSUE AT PEACE PARLEY

LAST OF APOLLOS SET FOR LIFT-OFF TO MOON TONIGHT

Astronauts 'All Charged Up' for Final Lunar Landing in $25-Billion Program

COUNTDOWN IS SMOOTH

Fiery Launching Expected to Be Seen by 500,000 in Satisfactory Weather

Justices Back State Bans On Sex Acts in Nightclubs

Court Bolsters Order By Safety Agency For Auto Air Bags

NEW LEADER ENDS AUSTRALIAN DRAFT

U.S.-Cuban Hijacking Pact Would Cover Ships as Well

GOVERNOR URGED TO JOIN RAIL TALK

James Lynn H.U.D. Chief; Morton Stays at Interior

P.O.W. Wives Await Peace With Joy and Dread

Judge Here Limits Coverage of a Trial

Tapes Link Police to Bribery by the Mob

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

VOL. LXXXVII NO. 110 — WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1972 — 15 CENTS

Apollo's Legacy

Man's Trips to Moon Have Shown Scientists Error of Old Theories

On Verge of Understanding Origin, They Change Ideas Of Age; Relation to Earth

Maxenia Blevins & KREEP

What's News—

Business and Finance

World-Wide

Help-Wanted Advertising

Some Nostalgic Alums Buys a Whole Lot More Than Old School Ties

Tax Report

A Special Summary and Forecast of Federal and State Tax Developments

A Day's Work

General Motors' Plan To Increase Efficiency Draws Ire of Unions

Reorganized Assembly Lines Eliminate Many Workers, Tighten Job Assignments

At War With the Computer

declared ready today for its fiery nighttime launching . . ."] 2. Vietnam peace talk developments ["Well-placed Administration officials report that Henry A. Kissinger is raising questions with North Vietnamese negotiators in Paris about intelligence reports showing that Hanoi, after a cease-fire, intends to hide much of its army in South Vietnam in Vietcong units."] 3. City bond sale ["New York City sold long-term bonds yesterday at the most favorable terms since 1965 . . ."] 4. Supreme Court ruling on night club sex shows. 5. Appeals court ruling on automobile air bags. 6. End to Australia's military draft. 7. U.S.-Cuba air hijack discussions. 8. Governor Rockefeller urged to enter rail strike negotiations. 9. Prisoner-of-war wives feature.

WALL STREET JOURNAL: 1. General Motors' reorganized assembly lines ["Up until a few months ago, Ernest Barnes's workday consisted of installing two bolts on the bumper of every Camero, Firebird and Nova that came down the assembly line, 65 seconds apart, at the General Motors plant here. Despite the monotony of the task, the 36-year-old, red-bearded worker says he liked his job 'pretty much.' "—first of a three-part series] 2. Moonshots generate new theories ["When scientists set out a decade ago to chart the most difficult, dangerous and costly expedition in history—the trip to the moon—they were filled with apprehension and uncertainty."] 3. The business of collage nostalgia ["Consider the unhappy plight of Thomas A. Brannon. Thomas A. Brannon has three buckeye trees in his front yard in Neward, Ohio. His den is done up in scarlet and gray. He acknowledges that 'I have Ohio State drinking glasses, and I have just ordered two ashtrays in the shape of the school stadium . . .' "] 4. What's News—a news summary of Paris peace talks, Supreme Court sex show ruling, etc.

DIFFERENT PHILOSOPHIES

The philosophies guiding these newspapers are obviously different (ignoring for the moment the *JOURNAL's* business orientation). The *TIMES* approach is geared strictly to occurrences within the past 24 hours—accounts of continuing events captured in mid-flight and incomplete (the Apollo launch, the Vietnam peace talks). The *TIMES* sees itself as a "newspaper of record" publishing "all the news that's fit to print." Back in reality, *TIMES'* editors must interpret this impossible assignment. Judging by their output, the editors clearly mean that "news" consists of *daily* developments (or occasionally, nondevelopments, such as the Apollo story).

But which developments? On this point, the *TIMES* is consistent, if not confusing. Its founder, Adolph S. Ochs, declared that the newspaper's guiding principle

would be to "give the news, all the news, in concise and attractive form . . . and give it as early, if not earlier, than it can be learned through any other reliable medium; to give the news impartially, without fear or favor, regardless of any party, sect or interest involved; to make the columns of the *NEW YORK TIMES* a forum for the consideration of questions of public importance, and to that end to invite intelligent discussion from all shades of opinion." Following up many years later, the *TIMES'* recently-retired editor Turner Catledge would define news as "something you didn't know before, had forgotten, or didn't understand."

The relevant part of Ochs' credo still dominates the *TIMES:* it remains a seemingly impartial "forum," striving to "objectively" report those subjective statements of its news sources, which provide "intelligent discussion from all shades of opinion." But which sources? From my random sample, or any other, the answer is obvious: from *government sources.* In the majority of cases, news stories are based on announcements of government officials (or the courts). The news "forum" is not one defined by newspaper editors, but a government forum, where newspapers truly become a "fourth estate,"—or "the fourth branch of government," according to Douglass Cater. The process is so advanced, says Cater, that the typical reporter is not only a "recorder" of government activities, but also a "participant"—even "the 'leak' has become institutionalized" and "The open press conference has turned into a mass convocation . . . ." All this derives from the dominant *TIMES'* definition of news, which transforms itself from "what is" to "what government says it is—today."

One main drawback of news produced by such a system is that it is invariably incomplete. Increasingly the news seems to need "interpretation," or "backgrounding," which often means the reporter's non-evidentiary opinions or repetitious history. The message is that the news is not able to stand alone, and needs artificial supplementation. In fact, what is needed is not so much background but *foreground*—what is to happen when the news has run its course—which unfortunately (but necessarily) is not available to the reporter at an "early, if not earlier" press conference.

The *TIMES'* version of news is also vague. An editor of another newspaper has said: "What we try to do is begin the week with a fistful of questions, and decide what answers will go on the front page each day." What questions are answered by the *TIMES'* news, *except one:* "What happened today—in government"? This is the same function provided by television news.

The editors of the *TIMES* may be getting the message that their news policy is outmoded and noncredible. Although there are many reasons for a decline in earnings, the *TIMES'* decline is too great and too consistent to be explained away by references to union demands. Its earnings-per-share are falling ("the mother wasn't too healthy this year," says President Arthur Ochs Sulzberger) at the same time that other operations of the parent company (*FAMILY CIRCLE* and *GOLF DIGEST* magazines) increased their earnings dramatically. Also, the *TIMES* is doing more page-one news stories that are not related to governmental, daily announcements—such as the prisoner-of-war-wives article noted above. These are based on thoroughly investigated issues—rather than daily announcements or events—and in which reporters provide independently verified evidence. The information in these articles is credible, rather than merely attributable.

IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

On the other hand, the *WALL STREET JOURNAL* represents an ideological revolution in the newspaper business: a newspaper whose page one is devoted largely to issues which are not tied to governmental announcements or occurrences within the past 24 hours. Daily events are summarized in one-paragraph "briefs" on page one.. The remainder of the newspaper is governed only somewhat by this philosophy, but there is evidence that much of the *JOURNAL's* phenomenal success is due to this revolutionary approach.

And success it undoubtedly is. Besides its profitability (nearly $4 million in 1970), even more impressive is the newspaper's growth: from 234,000 circulation in 1952 to 1.3 million today—second place among all daily newspapers. The *JOURNAL* stands as a practical answer to those who argue that theoretical alternatives to current journalism practice won't work. Against greater odds than most local newspapers face, the *JOURNAL* has "worked" better than anyone could have anticipated.

However, until 1941, the newspaper was just another dull business-financial sheet, with small circulation and low profitability. At that time, Bernard Kilgore, an underrated giant of American journalism, was named managing editor. Kilgore started a page-one policy of "leader" articles whose subject matter would be wide-ranging and "not necessarily tied to yesterday's news" *(FORTUNE).* In a communications world dominated by the jazz-journalism of Hearst and Luce, Kilgore's policy was—to put it mildly— an innovation. It ignored time, space, and attention-gaining elements of traditional news, and concentrated on one element: *importance.* On a six-column page one, columns one and six are reserved for Kilgore's pioneering "leaders" which run for an undetermined length. Column six is often tied to current news, and may contain a "trend" piece, or a round up of business views about the latest economic policy, the Vietnam war, or other matters. Column four was usually reserved by Kilgore for a shorter, lighter

piece. Although there is apparently some disagreement among the *JOURNAL's* staff as to how far afield from business the newspaper should go on page one, the editors' policy has remained eclectic. Leaders have been defined by one writer as "packed with information that had been closely checked and intelligently collated" and written for those who "take an innocent delight in knowing what's going on around them." Kilgore's front page was and still is a radical (i.e., fundamental) departure from traditional journalism.

But Kilgore retained the newspaper's most popular column, "What's News," the page one daily news summary which *TIME* magazine called "revolutionary." The column takes 16 man-hours to write and about 6 minutes to read, and *NEW YORK TIMES'* readers were said at one time to be "irritated" by the summary's lack of detail. Of course, the summary has since been copied in modified form by the *TIMES* and many other newspapers. But the column makes an important point: that daily news is necessarily incomplete, often needs verification of important details, and nontreatment of lesser or dubious ones, and that in general it deserves less prominence than the closely-checked leaders.

NEW TYPE NEWS STORY

Kilgore expanded the *JOURNAL's* readership to include "everybody who is engaged in making a living or is interested in how other people make a living." In other words, his clear intention was to make the newspaper more than a financial newspaper. He added book, theatre and opera reviews. Vermont Royster, a co-editor, said Kilgore "dared to do everything differently," that he created "a new edifice atop the old foundation," and a new type of news story which, "while dealing with current events, was not tied down to yesterday's developments." Such news, said Royster, is "for people who may wish to know more about the subject than simply that 'something happened yesterday.'" Kilgore started a now-standard *JOURNAL* policy of hiring new journalism graduates to allow the paper to "train its staff in its own methods of news gathering and presentation" (*EDITOR & PUBLISHER*).

This innovative approach to news has generated certain "formula" treatments of news which help standardize the product. The trend story is one example. In a post-facto analysis, a writer for the *COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW* discovered that such *JOURNAL* stories invariably follow a DEE (description-explanation-evaluation) formula. What is most striking is that the system makes sense—it being rational to describe before explaining a trend, and to explain before evaluating it. Such innovations are more likely to occur within the *JOURNAL*-approach than in the what-happened-today-especially-in-government approach.

If there is an explicit journalistic philosophy governing the editors of the *JOURNAL,* it is not easily discovered. Journalism editors are notoriously aphilosophical about their work, and those at the *JOURNAL* are no exception. What is news, what is the relationship between news and truth—these are issues absent from speeches of the *JOURNAL's* management. We have only the most general statements to examine, but even here there is a sense that the *JOURNAL's* approach is different from standard journalism practice.

"We are a business newspaper," said then-*JOURNAL* editor William H. Grimes in 1952. "Yet in our subscription lists there are many subscribers—many college students, for instance—who are not usually considered as business people. They like a publication which presents the meaningful news and news interpretations of the day, which presents them without bias, which omits the fires, the assaults, and the murders and does not club them over the head with black type." There is no talk here of the *JOURNAL* being a "forum" for "all shades of opinion"—only of presenting *meaningful* news, which Grimes describes as omitting much of what has constituted traditional daily journalism. The *JOURNAL* is a specialized (business) newspaper, he goes on, but "the interests and activities of its editors must be as diverse as the American landscape. The editors are specialists in the way that a medical diagnostician is a specialist; the diagnostician has a certain function, but to perform that function he must have an accurate and detailed knowledge of the human anatomy. Just so the business editor must have access to all the news. His specialty is selection and treatment. We are like the diagnostician in another respect. We must tell what we find and not merely what will be pleasing."

Because the *JOURNAL* recognized, long ago under Kilgore, that the news cannot be told in abbreviated, pyramid-style form, nor with flashy typography *a la* television, it has maintained a vertical layout which allows long, complete treatment of issues. This has helped overcome a key defect of traditional journalism: incompleteness (usually referred to as "lack of backgrounding"). A 1968 study by the American Newspaper Publishers Association found that "reporter's insufficient background information" was the chief cause of newspaper inaccuracies—as cited by both news sources and reporters. The researchers recommended that reporters be given by their editors "extra time" to gather background information and to write a first-time story: "First-time assignments should perhaps 'automatically' be given extended deadlines" say the researchers. *JOURNAL* reporters have "weeks, months and even years" *(FORTUNE)* to prepare leaders, which are given extended space (although much business news on the inside pages is treated in typical daily fashion).

"MOST TRUSTED" NEWSPAPER

It is these theoretical and structural reasons that have enabled the *JOURNAL* to be cited by one Louis Harris poll as America's "most trusted" newspaper. *JOURNAL* editors have applied strict standards to placement and treatment of news and subcategories of news—in a process which I have called *JOURNALIZING* the news. This consists of defining the news and a newspaper's function in an intelligent manner (not "what I say it is") and applying those standards to the gathering, treatment and presentation of news. The *JOURNAL*, for the most part, has done this, not as consistently or explicitly as one would like in an ideal world, but nevertheless in a way that is a radical departure from traditional journalism practice, which has turned many newspapers into glorified rumor mills.

The *JOURNAL's* news standards are vague, but the thrust is right. Dow Jones President William F. Kerby has said: "Fires, rapes and scandals are out. But all serious news is of interest to the businessman—the Congo crisis, the landing of Marines in Lebanon, the Little Rock school integration . . . . [the *JOURNAL*] has broadened its concept of what news is a necessary tool for business." At a recent University of Michigan award ceremony, Kerby talked about proposals to create public panels which would assess newspaper performance in terms of how it reflects the concerns of special-interest groups. "It isn't the job of a newspaper to reflect anything except the plain truth," he said.

This departure from traditional journalism practice has rankled and confused some critics. Former *JOURNAL* reporter A. Kent MacDougall has criticized the newspaper's slow, cautious or nonexistent treatment of such scandals as the Bill Sol Estes and Bernie Cornfield affairs, and its being "scooped" on International Telephone & Telegraph's "brazen favor-seeking in Washington." These are all legitimate news stories, but hardly examples of serious errors. Yet the lesson is that *this* is what traditional journalism offers as important news: Big Business stereotypes, scandals, the length of Howard Hughes' fingernails, and here-today-forgotten-tomorrow escapades of swindlers and powerful pressure groups (not the issue of lobbies, but rather cops-and-robbers).

The *JOURNAL* is not flawless, but its understanding of what constitutes news, and how to get and present it, represents a new direction of journalism practice. Compare its December 6, 1972 issue above with its competitors: invariably the *JOURNAL* has dealt with long-range issues rather than short-range events. Rather than innocuous preparations for Apollo 17, or, say, isolated worker rebellions at Lordstown, the *JOURNAL* considers what has been learned from all the Apollo moon flights, and the totality of problems at General Motor's assembly line. More than a different focus or function, this represents a different *concept* of news.

MacDougall is beside himself in examining the *JOURNAL's* lack of interest in the Howard Hughes' autobiography hoax, largely because he is looking at it from the perspective of traditional jazz journalism. He writes: "Though some editors contend that Clifford Irving's escapade wasn't a business story, the involvement of the nation's least seen and most publicized (?) businessman, the humiliation of Time Inc. and McGraw-Hill, and the story's fascination for both general and business readers would indicate otherwise. The *NEW YORK TIMES* smothered the story with a task force of top reporters; the *JOURNAL* didn't assign a single man full time. The Hughes noncoverage illustrates the *JOURNAL's* reluctance to react quickly and decisively to a breaking story that isn't a must because of its direct impact on the economy or the stock market."

The *JOURNAL's* coverage of the Hughes-Irving "escapade" is illustrative. For the most part, the newspaper covered the unfolding events of the hoax in its news summary columns, except for McGraw-Hill's initial announcements and Hughes' denial, which was carried as a news item on page eight. There was no "team" reporting of this nonevent, and no "scoops." The most extensive treatment, provided in a page-one feature, was a story about the "jostling match" and scramble for scoops among the traditional media. This is not an isolated case of intransigence. Even MacDougall admits that in his ten years at the *JOURNAL* he "never heard of any reporter being asked to write a puff piece for an advertiser, take it easy on a news source or angle a story beyond what the facts warranted." As another writer said: "The *JOURNAL* [is] rotten with integrity from top to bottom."

PRESSURE FOR CHANGE

There is pressure on the *JOURNAL* for changes, and one hopes they come soon. Most of the reporter dissatisfaction concerns the inside pages, where writers must contribute coverage of annual meetings, calling in unsubstantiated quotations "with a dime clenched in our teeth, having to move out to the pay phone to report the latest corporate tidbit" (according to one reporter). The *JOURNAL* is not consistent, but what is these days?

"Journalizing" the news is not the whole answer to newspaper problems. Nothing is. But those responsible for the *JOURNAL* have contributed some innovative, practical solutions to the decline of the daily newspaper, and some have been copied already. The *JOURNAL* seems to have been the first newspaper to categorize news according to its ability to stand by itself—its *completeness*. By extension, instead of applying the news-summary principles only to world news, as many newspapers do, this might apply to all news depending on its completeness. This would mean that daily news, which is a kind of "sub-news"

There is no way to predict what a potential readership in any given community will want—daily pressure group announcements or serious news treatment of issues. The example of the JOURNAL is encouraging. Another factor is that nothing exists in a vacuum: every newspaper faces competition from a variety of news sources—television, radio, magazines, newsletters, books, etc. Isn't it wiser to offer a service which does not duplicate anyone else's?

One erroneous concept holding back change is the notion of a static demand—"nobody wants anything different." But a basic economic fact of life is: nobody knows what they want until they experience it. Demand is not by nature static, but potential. This has been shown in a number of areas (Polaroid cameras, PLAYBOY magazine), but is clearest in the area of television entertainment programming. Every program from the "young people's" symphonic concerts to "All in the Family" began with no demand—none measurable, anyway. Both were launched with the idea of building an audience. The beginning of television international news and commentary was unsponsored, and marked by a period of strong isolationism in the 1930s. Demand is diffuse, general—to be entertained, to find out about the world—and is satisfied in a multitude of unpredictable ways. Writes economist Israel Kirzner: "There is no sense in which any consumer in any system can be imagined to exercise demand for a product in the absence of some communication to him of the existence of that product, of its qualities, its availability . . . ." Certainly newspaper editors can do as well as television in giving the public what it ought to want, and perhaps will want, once they experience it. Furthermore, the WALL STREET JOURNAL is partial evidence of what the public might want. —— **D.J.C.**

anyway, would be quickly summarized and dispensed with in a news summary or "briefs" column—to be elaborated further when events develop or reporters have time to flesh out the complete story (usually not the daily announcement anyway, but the *issue*). This would apply to both world and local news—all would be categorized. Official source rumors or "leaks" of changes in a foreign government say, would be similarly treated.

In fact, the *NEW YORK TIMES* does some of this already, although in an inconsistent way. A "Metropolitan Briefs" column on the inside pages covers such tidbits as an open-burning ban extension and a nude "swim-in"—the beginnings of categorizing news. The *TIMES* has a daily news summary, which serves as more of an index to longer versions on other pages. There is evidence that *TIMES'* officials are aware of these problems. Asked what he would do in the future to avoid the embarrassing news abuses of Henry Kissinger's "peace is at hand" announcements (long before peace was at hand), one *TIMES'* man said: "Write less."

Editors might also set "boundaries" on news—whereby editorial decisions are made about the generally-acceptable limits of reporting certain pronouncements. For example, there is need for a limit on the acceptable kinds and lengths of "forecasts"—whether the prophet is dealing with next year's Gross National Product, the year 2000, or future corporate profits. "Boundary"-setting journalists might say, for example, that any forecast beyond six months on *any* meaningful subject is not supportable, or that a company president may state the *past* trend in profits, but make no judgments about the future. The market for that kind of forecast is better served by a company newsletter anyway.

At least one editor has begun to try to make some of these principles work. Almost two years ago, the Bedford (Pa.) *DAILY GAZETTE* began copying the *WALL STREET JOURNAL* format because, according to *GAZETTE* editor Edward Frear: "We think that they (*JOURNAL* editors) are doing what we all ought to be doing—probing the world instead of chasing fire trucks." Frear instituted the change because "somewhere in that mindless parade of days, a vision appeared. Why not try to put out a thoughtful newspaper, one that initiated rather than jumped?" He began a "Top of the Morning" news summary column, and worked it into a revised vertical layout which eliminated misleading headlines and "increased our output by at least one-third." Frear operates in a one-newspaper county, with a three-man staff, but the opportunity to write page-one "leaders" that "initiated rather than jumped" has resulted in stories on damage to area trees by the Gypsy moth, the workings of no-fault insurance and how strikers get food stamps. Frear wonders whether the system would work in a large metropolitan area. Is there any doubt? Says Frear: "What we're doing is not muckraking, nor is it really in-depth reporting. *It's planned* (my italics). It begins with a question. It tries to look at the whole situation . . . ."

Journalism-via-newspapers is not a "tribal need," and there is no economic law which holds that newspapers are absolutely necessary. The editors of *LIFE* magazine, a vehicle for photojournalism in an era dominated by television, found out what happens to a journal that loses its *raison d 'etre.* Newspapers are being replaced as a primary information medium; the next step is to replace them altogether. Most newspapers are unreliable sources of information, and are being made less necessary by television—which is better at passing along unreliable information anyway. But newspaper editors have both a theoretical and practical model to help them adapt. In short: it's time to "journalize" the news. ◻

COMMITTEE FOR THE

ANTI-INFLATION AMENDMENT

To the Constitution of the United States

1. HARD CURRENCY MANDATE

After considerable research by economists, many people have come to the conclusion that economic problems—inflation, unemployment, depressions (and obviously the taxes to cure them all)—are **caused** by the Federal government, as it mismanages the money of the United States. The money supply fluctuates: when it expands too fast, we get inflation; when it slows down, we get unemployment. Americans are forbidden to own gold, and the balance of payments is overdrawn because of depreciating money. We the People can end all of that by passing a law to discipline our government:

> Section 1: IT SHALL BE THE POLICY OF THE TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES TO STABILIZE THE SUPPLY OF CASH NOTES AND FEDERAL CREDIT IN CIRCULATION, AND THEREBY TO PRESERVE AND INCREASE THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE CURRENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

This policy could be accomplished even without the Amendment in a number of ways, but confusion about controlling interest rates, as opposed to the quantity of money, has led us into inflation. The precise way chosen to achieve this policy (the issue is very complex) would be up to the Congress, the President, and the Federal Reserve System. Among the ways would be either using the commodity price of gold, or any group of commodities, as a base price, or by fixing the quantity of money, or the rate of monetary expansion, by law.

IT IS TIME TO FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE ECONOMIC ISSUES.

2. WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS UNCONSTITUTIONAL

We should now be able to get rid of those unfair and unwise wage price controls. Everybody—Democrats and Republicans alike—all want to get rid of wage and price controls "as soon as possible." The time is **right now!** The controls were never needed, and the Anti-Inflation Amendment will prevent the need for controls in the future.

> Section 2: CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW RESTRICTING THE FREEDOM OF WAGES AND PRICES. THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO MAKE CONTRACTS AND TO TRADE FREELY AMONG THEMSELVES SHALL NOT BE ABRIDGED.

This idea has been suggested by George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, and by George McGovern during his election campaign. Richard Nixon supported this principle until 1971, and may someday support it again. In addition to this general statement, we propose the following specific definition of economic freedom as an important addition to the constitution of the United States:

3. CARTEL MONOPOLY PRICES FORBIDDEN

The government not only causes inflation and economic depressions, it sometimes makes things worse by price controls in favor of certain vested interests, and cheats the consumers because **competition** is against the law. We need competition in our free economy to make the system work.

> Section 3: THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, OR OF ANY STATE, SHALL NOT, THROUGH ANY LAW OR ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION, PREVENT OR FORBID ANY PERSON OR CORPORATION FROM OFFERING FOR LEGITIMATE SALE OR FROM LOWERING THE SALE PRICE OF WHATEVER GOODS OR SERVICES MAY BE COMMERCIALLY TRADED.

This idea was first suggested by Milton Friedman. All it says is that consumers deserve the lowest prices possible, and the government should not obstruct competition in any way.

IF YOU SUPPORT THIS PROPOSAL, SEND YOUR NAME TO THE COMMITTEE.

FOR INFORMATION WRITE TO THE COMMITTEE, BOX 4691, CHICAGO 60680

The Litterer as Hero

Walter Block

There is practically no one, nowadays, who will defend the litterer. The litterer is beset upon from all sides. He bears the brunt of the barbs of all the "do-gooding" groups that ever were. Radio and television stations beam antilitterer messages as a "public service." Neighborhood associations, parent teacher associations, church groups, civic organizations are all united on one thing: Stop Litter! Boy scouts and girl scouts, cub scouts and brownies all have antilitter projects. The kiddie film industry, which must pass over many topics as too controversial, is united in its hatred for litter. Sometimes it almost seems that all their cartoons have an antilitter message. Litter is the great unifier. Everyone is against it. On what other topic do we find unity between blacks and whites, gays and straights, conservatives and liberals, left wingers and right wingers? Even the god damned commies are against litter, for goodness sake.

We must start out with a deep and abiding suspicion that if *everyone* agrees with a proposition, it is almost certain to be false. (Using this guideline, I sometimes come to doubt that 2 + 2 = 4. At other times I doubt that everyone really thinks that 2 + 2 = 4, at least with the same degree of certainty that they hold litter to be an abomination.) And if we cast our eyes about suspiciously, we find one small, seemingly insignificant detail which is an important part of an argument that completely destroys the case against litter and the litterer: **litter can only take place in the public domain, never in the private domain.** Now this is a fact that is never mentioned in discussions on the problem of litter, even those purporting to be scientific and thorough. But all the ads showing the evils of litter take place on *public* highways or *public* beaches or *public* streets or *public* parks or *public* subways or *public* bathrooms. Think about it. And try to remember a case of litter in a private place, either on the radio or television or newspaper ads, or discussions with friends. It cannot be done.

And it is not just a case of *most* littering in public places and *some* littering in private places. It is definitional. If something resembling littering in *all* aspects were to occur in a private place, *it could not be littering.* It would be called something else. When large crowds leave a ballpark, movie, theatre, concert, circus or whatever, what remains among the seats and aisles *is not and cannot be litter.* It is garbage, or dirt, or wastes, or remains or whatever else we want to call it. But not litter. After 6 p.m. when the customers and workers leave the downtown area, a horde of cleaners descends upon the banks, stores, restaurants, office buildings, factories, bus depots, train and airline terminals. What they do is *clean.* They under no circumstances pick up litter. While this is going on, men from the department of sanitation also descend upon the downtown area to clean up the streets and sidewalks. They, however, do pick up litter as they clean up.

PUBLIC VS. PRIVATE

Actually, however, as must be painfully obvious by now, there is no real distinction to be made between leaving garbage around in public places and leaving garbage around in private places. There is no reason whatsoever to call leaving trash around "littering" when done in public places and not when done in private places. This tends to erase in our minds the fact that what is being done in each case is really the same thing. What all cases where garbage is left around to be picked up later all at once have in common is that they are necessary concomitants of the processes of producing or of consuming. In the case of production it simply does not pay to insist that each carpenter immediately clean up his own wood shavings as he works, for example. It is much easier and cheaper to allow the "litter" to accumulate and be swept away at the end of the day or at periodic intervals. The factory manager *could* insist on an anti-"litter" campaign and force the carpenters not to allow any accumulation of wood shavings whatsoever. He could even enforce this edict with the threat of a $50 fine for any wood shaving found near a carpenter's workbench. He could. But if he did, he would find that his work force would quit. Or if they did not quit, that the costs of production had risen inordinately, with consequent losses to competitive factories who could now undersell him.

In other branches of production it most certainly does pay to adopt a strong, not to say ferocious, anti-"litter" program. And to embellish it with the

Dr. Walter Block is assistant professor of economics at Baruch College of the City University of New York. His article is from an irreverent series Block is writing on "Economic Scapegoats."

strongest penalties imaginable. In the field of medicine, for instance, it simply will not do to allow surgeons to leave forceps, bandage wrappings or used gauze pads in the patients stomach. Here, failure to adopt a strong antilitter campaign, besides being grotesque, would involve the hospital manager in financial failure, as the word got out and his patients departed for greener fields.

In the case of consumption, most restaurants do not pursue fanatical antilitter campaigns. The very mention of such a possibility will strike many as ludicrous. There are no signs on restaurant walls forbidding the dropping of forks, napkins or bread crumbs. Yet restaurants *could* insist on the prohibition of litter. If they did, of course, they would lose their customers to other establishments. But imagine if you will a restaurant of the future on an interplanetary spaceship in free fall. Here, any litter could prove to be disastrous, as there would be no floor for it to fall upon and stay; it would float around with the cash customers, interfering with the running of the spaceship. In this case a strict antilitter policy would be followed. There might well be fines of $50 or more for those who failed to keep their foods in the assigned nippled bottles.

RESPONSE TO CONSUMERS

What these four seemingly disparate examples all have in common is that they illustrate that on the *market,* the decision of whether and how much litter should be allowed, and for how long, is based ultimately on the wishes and desires of the relevant consumers. There is not the simplistic question of "getting rid of litterbugs." There is rather the careful weighing of the costs and benefits of allowing waste materials to lie around. To the extent that the costs of garbage collection are low and the harm caused by garbage lying around is high, there will tend to be frequent garbage collections and severe penalties for leaving garbage around. Examples given were litterbug surgeons and spaceship restaurants. To the extent that the costs of garbage collection are high and the harm caused by garbage lying around is low, there will tend to be less frequent garbage collections made and no penalties for littering. And there is no governmental law that ensures that this be so. It is strictly a result of the market process: those entreprenuers who do not act in accordance with this cost-benefit analysis tend to either lose customers directly, as they stalk out in anger, or indirectly, as the higher costs of operation allow the competition price advantages.

The great flexibility of this system can be demonstrated not only by how effectively it tailors the business establishment to the appropriate litterbug policy, as has been seen above, but much more so by considering *changes* either in the costs of litter collection or in the harm caused by litter left around uncollected. If for instance, a vacuum system were installed in spaceships which enabled litter to be taken out of the air at very little cost, or if consumer desires to litter underwent a marked change, then spaceship entreprenuers would tend to relax their stringent antilitter stance. A spaceship restaurant would come to resemble more closely the earth-side restaurants in their unconcern for the problems of litter. Those spaceship owners who failed to adjust to the new technology and tastes would tend to lose customers to their competitors who provided better service without the added cost of vacuum nipple bottles. On the other hand, if it were suddenly discovered that the peanut shells and popcorn boxes left under the seats at baseball stadiums were disease carriers, or interfered with attendance at the baseball game in any way, the stadium rules concerning litter would be changed. They would be changed *automatically,* without any government edict being enacted, as if by an invisible hand, as the stadium owners changed their policies so as better to be able to earn money from the consumers they must please.

Now let us return to litter in the public domain. Here, there is no finely attuned system tending to encourage litter when it is the preference of the consumer to litter. Rather the government treats consumer demands in a rather cavalier manner: it virtually ignores them. Government enterprise is the only enterprise that will deal with an increased desire to litter with a steadfast determination not to give in. Not to accede to either consumer desires or changing technology. The law is the law, and to hell with the litterbug. The reason it can continue such a procedure, of course, is because it is outside the market. It does not obtain its revenues from the market process of voluntary trade. It obtains its revenues through the process of taxation, a process completely untied to its ability to satisfy customers.

The usual governmental argument against litter—that it is done out of disrespect for others' rights—can easily be shown to be without merit. The whole concept of private litter is a case in point. If litter were a violation of rights, a refusal to consider the comfort of others, we could scarcely account for litter in restaurants, ballparks, factories, etc. Rather litter comes about in the private market precisely as a means of *satisfying* the desires of consumers for comfort. One no more violates the restaurant owner's rights by littering than by eating. Both are paid for. If anything, according to the internal logic of this objection, one would have more right to leave garbage around in the public sector than in the private sector because at least in the public sector there is the (ludicrous) argument that "we all own it". Well, if we *all* own it, one can always at least maintain the fiction that when we litter the public sector, we are littering *our* part of it. In the private sector, it is impossible to

maintain even this fiction, for when we litter, we litter property that is entirely *not* our own.

GOVERNMENTAL INFLEXIBILITY

The explanation for the failure of the government to maintain a flexible litterbug policy in the public sector is not entirely due to government indifference. Although it is far simpler to just prohibit something than to deal with it in a reasonable manner, the point to be stressed is that **even if there were a beneficent government, it could not maintain a flexible litterbug policy without a price system, without a profit and loss system, to measure the costs and benefits of littering, and to automatically penalize the government managers who failed to adjust accordingly.** If the government somehow managed to install a system of this type, it would be a governmental system no longer, for it could no longer rely on the bete noir of government, a tax system completely unrelated to success in satisfying the wants of consumers.

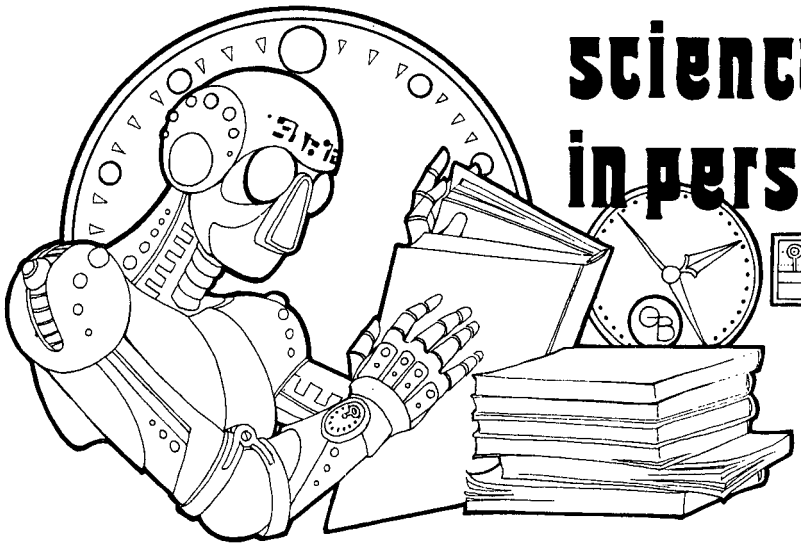
This inflexibility can sometimes take strange turns. In New York City for many years there was no effective restriction whatsoever on dog owners allowing their dogs to defecate in the streets and on the sidewalks. Now there is a movement afoot to prohibit dog defecation altogether on any street or sidewalk, launched by citizens groups organized under the cry of "Children before dogs!" The flexibility of the market is completely ignored by both of these warring factions. Nowhere is it realized, it would seem, that dog "litter" can be *restricted* to some places and not either prohibited altogether or allowed anywhere at all. Imagine the grotesque results that would ensue were people to believe that litter in restaurants should be either prohibited altogether or allowed anywhere at all. Imagine also the beneficent results that would ensue if the streets and sidewalks were privately owned; the greater flexibility; the *automatic* rewards given to those entreprenuers who could best devise methods to satisfy *both* groups.

Although it is difficult to anticipate the exact way that a free market would function in this presently unfree area, some guesses may be hazarded. What would probably happen would be that several enterprising entreprenuers would set up fenced-in sandy areas on perhaps every street where man's best friends could repair when they were so moved. These entreprenuers would then make two contracts. One, with the owners of the dogs, would specify the price for use of the area, whether by the number of minutes spent there, the weight of the fecal matter deposited, or on a standard retainer contract. The other, with the owners of garbage trucks, would again specify the costs of maintaining the areas in a clean, "unlittered" manner. The exact locations, numbers of such areas per street, and other details would be as impossible to specify as the exact locations and quantity of any other service. All we know is that these disposal stations will tend to locate in areas where there is a proportionate demand for their services. Thus we see that the entreprenuer functions as somewhat of a middle man between the owners of dogs and the owners of garbage trucks (and dumping grounds).

What the litterbug actually does is to treat public property in much the same way that he would treat private property. Namely to leave garbage around on it. We have, I hope, amply demonstrated that there is nothing intrinsically evil about this type of activity; that but for governmental calcification, this activity would be as widely accepted and as widespread in the public arena as in the private. It therefore becomes an act of bravery to insist, by littering in the public sector, upon the intrinsic right not to have to compulsively watch out for every speck of dirt that might be left behind. Such bravery, over and above the call of duty, in this day and age of bigoted antilitterbug feeling, can only be characterized as heroic. ◻

I dreamt of African nights in Los Angeles
And the veld was filled; with freeways racing
like the wind in the bush, and the far and near
hyena laughter in sirens from ambulance and police,
and schreeching brakes telling of night birds at prey,
laughter in the room, jackals prying search,
and I, stalked by predators running in the night.

Rudolph Laubscher



science fiction in perspective

JOHN J PIERCE

John Pierce's Science Fiction column alternates monthly in REASON *with Davis Keeler's Money column.*

"Life is short."
"–but the years are long."
"Not while the evil days come not."

The years have been long since Robert A. Heinlein last made any additions to his History of the Future. And, unfortunately, evil days have come upon him in the meantime.

Readers who had hoped his new novel, *TIME ENOUGH FOR LOVE: THE LIVES OF LAZARUS LONG*–billed as the culminating work of the Future History–would reverse the trend in Heinlein's writing so painfully evident in *I WILL FEAR NO EVIL* are in for a disappointment.

As the subtitle indicates, the novel is about Lazarus Long–oldest member of the long-lived Howard Families and here of *METHUSELAH'S CHILDREN.* But he is not the colorful, cantankerous character we knew of old; at least, not for more than a chapter or two.

Rather than remain true to his original character, Heinlein has simply made Long a mouthpiece for the same sort of vacuous drivel about sex and love that was the New Revelation of *I WILL FEAR NO EVIL.* Any anyone who didn't like that novel won't think much of this one.

Some years ago, Heinlein planned a novel called *DA CAPO,* which was to carry on the adventures of Lazarus Long and tie up the loose ends in the Future History. What relation, if any, *TIME ENOUGH FOR LOVE* bears to the author's original intentions is hard to understand.

Readers of *METHUSELAH'S CHILDREN* will recall that at the end of that novel, Long and Andrew Jackson Libby were planning to explore other solar systems together. Long had succeeded in rescuing the Howard Families from jealous ephemerals back on Earth who thought they had some "secret" of longevity, other than heredity.

With Earth scientists having discovered the "secret" while the Howards were off among the stars, the Families were welcomed home again when they finally returned–disillusioned by contacts with alien species with powers far beyond Man's. But new problems seemed sure to arise–Earth was already overpopulated, even without longevity. And for anyone wanting to settle elsewhere, there were still those alien superintelligences to contend with.

Sociologically, North America was still governed by the Covenant, a document framed under the principles of General Semantics to guarantee as much personal freedom as possible while still maintaining social order. And a science of social psychodynamics was in widespread use in efforts to minimize mass emotional disorders of the sort that had characterized the Crazy Years and the Theocracy of the Prophet.

Virtually none of this background figures in *TIME ENOUGH FOR LOVE,* however. When we meet Long, it is in 4272, 2,000 years after *METHUSELAH'S CHILDREN.* All the other characters from *METHUSELAH'S CHILDREN* are long dead, even Libby. Long has come to Secundus, a planet he deeded to the Howard Foundation some centuries back, to die. Only the Howards won't let him–they need his "wisdom."

At length, Long agrees to accept another rejuvenation, help the Foundation move to another planet (Secundus apparently has political problems), and write his memoirs–if the Howards will think up something "new" for him to do. The rest of the book consists of "tales" from his memoirs, interspersed with rambling discussions among Long and other characters–mostly about what real Love is.

SEX AND LOVE

Without going into the sort of parlor psychologizing many critics are addicted to, suffice it to say that Heinlein seems unable to write about sex and love with any conviction. All he can manage is to have Long call everybody "dear," and play cute tricks like having a girl named Hamadryad constantly referred to as Hamadarling and Hamadearest. What he seems to think is an insight is always a cliche–especially coming from a man who supposedly has 2,300-odd years of experience and lives in a culture where sexual freedom has presumably been commonplace for centuries.

The tales are better written than the dialogues, but that isn't saying much. One is about a U.S. Naval officer of the 20th Century–possibly Long himself, though Long says otherwise–who succeeds by being lazy. What it has to do with anything is never made clear. In another, Long frees a slave couple from a backward planet and sets them up in the restaurant business on another. Apart from the sex angle, the tale adds nothing to the theme of slavery and freedom in *CITIZEN OF THE GALAXY*–which was a lot better written. Yet another tale has Long as a

frontiersman on a colonial planet, where he marries an ephemeral girl and discovers the meaning of True Love. But the frontier color and action pales in comparison to that in *TUNNEL IN THE SKY.*

In fact, none of the planets that are the scenes of action in *TIME ENOUGH FOR LOVE* have any more reality than stage sets. And all the important action seems to happen offstage most of the time—supposedly in passages "omitted" from the version of Long's memoirs published by the Howard Foundation. References to events in earlier Future History works are given only in passing—usually during Long's conversations—and briefly.

Thus we learn that the Jockaira gods who scared Slayton Ford out of his wits, and pushed the spaceship *New Frontiers* off to another star by mind power alone in *METHUSELAH'S CHILDREN,* were somehow wiped out by Long and Libby with a blaster 800 or 900 years later. That sounds like shooting elephants with a pea shooter, but Heinlein apparently didn't want to bother dealing seriously with the problem of superior intelligences.

We hear more of the Little People of PK3722, who adopted Mary Sperling into their collective consciousness—but only because Long has to visit them to check out some ideas on time travel (Mary's absorbed consciousness is still there, but there is no trace of the 11,000-odd other Howards who forsook the New Frontiers to live on that planet). For some reason, no alien intelligences have been discovered on any other planets in the Galaxy.

We also get references to *ORPHANS IN THE SKY*—the crewmen who escaped the *Vanguard* father a race of super-intelligent savages on the planet where they landed; those left on the ship all died. And the blind space singer Rhysling of "The Green Hills of Earth" is also mentioned—but referred to only as "Noisy."

CONTINUITY LACKING

Evidently Heinlein no longer puts any stock in General Semantics or social psychodynamics, for they aren't mentioned in the novel. For the sake of continuity, there should be some explanation of why they didn't work—if that is the case—but Heinlein doesn't bother. There is considerable discussion of the problem of freedom vs. authority—but nobody seems to have any new ideas about it.

Genetics is also a major topic of discussion. Long is always worrying about it—can the slave twins he freed (who aren't really twins) produce viable offspring? How about bedding two "daughters" he's had cloned from himself? There is a lot of talk about natural selection in the settling of new planets during Mankind's Diaspora having raised the general level of intelligence—but the range of individuals and cultures typical of the era scarcely bears this out.

Towards the end of the novel, the Howards—thanks in large measure to the help of a sentient computer named Minerva who has her consciousness transplanted into a human body in order to experience Eros (the closest thing to a new idea in the book)—finally think of the "new" thing for Long to do: travel back in time to the Kansas City of his childhood to (as it turns out) commit incest with his mother.

For some reason, this part of *TIME ENOUGH FOR LOVE* is still called *DA CAPO,* although it's doubtful the contents bear any relation to what the title originally implied. Surprisingly, it's the best-written part of the book—but totally irrelevant to the Future History, of course. Long's mother turns out to be a secretly Liberated Woman—and before his rescue from a shellhole by his friends from the future after getting caught up in World War I, it is implied both his parents will later be brought forward in time to join the Great Orgy on Tertius (the new Howard planet).

Why does Heinlein insist on writing this sort of thing? Perhaps his judgment and self-critical faculties have deserted him. Perhaps he was irked at critics who sneered at his work for being too "conservative" and decided to prove he could be as "liberated" as anyone else. Whatever the reason, the results are just awful. *TIME ENOUGH FOR LOVE,* for the most part, is simply smothered in saccharine sentimentality, tedious dialogue and plotless meanderings.

There seems little hope of any recovery. *I WILL FEAR NO EVIL* could be considered an isolated failure—but in using the reputation of the Future History to bolster the appeal of the same sort of rubbish, Heinlein has shown himself either incapable or unwilling to honor the commitment to high standards of science fiction that won him the loyalty of a generation of readers.

DD

Your nights left empty of lovers,
My mornings weary of lies,
The afternoon we met, while,
Rain swept the tired streets,
Brought down purple, popping,
October rain, storming with
Thunder, raping the city
Rushing to climax in the north.
Dying in curling wimpers.
We, with koeksisters and tea
Celebrate my celibacy and in
The intimacy of the dying day
We find the time to talk
Amazed at this day's suicide
Mourned by the cypress
Urging the clouds away.

Rudolph Laubscher

CONVENTIONAL POEM

I am a pool, a pond, a lake,
A still water. Primeval mud
That waits
For you. A red sea your stick
Stirs up. The cloudy mud
That blooms and blossoms,
The settling silt.
The clam shell empty,
After you
Opening with the pearl.
So still until
You come. The sea skate
Undulate
On the ocean floor.
Aquatic minotaurs
Unravelling my maze.
White sea-weed,
Sea-stirred ferns.
Stone who sends your ripples
To the untomost shore.
Quenching the water's thirst.

Susan Fromberg Schaeffer

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foreign correspondent

BARRIE, ONTARIO, CANADA

Canada was born a second-hand country, and has remained so beyond a hundred years. Begot by the British Empire, it has dwelt in the graces of the United States and gathered from both the elements to compose its ethos: security. Intent on shelter from its cold winters and finding stability in its natural resources, Canada continues without distinction. Its only unique flavor, bilingualism, is a constant source of irritation and conflict. Canada is composed, content, somber and secure.

For a Canadian, freedom is indifference. Nearly half the electorate fails to vote in national, provincial or local contests. The British-Northamerica-Act, the country's founding charter, makes no mention of individuals—much less individual rights. It assigns certain duties to the provinces (equate: states), and leaves everything else in the hands of the federal government. Municipalities have no autonomy—they are "creatures of the privince." As a consequence, individual Canadians believe—justly—that they have no power over their government. Thus, they chose to ignore it. However, it does not ignore them.

There are four statist political parties, all vying for the benefits of endowing security on the nation: old-age security, medical security, job security, profit security, business security, union security, etc. The parliamentary system presently finds the Liberals "in power", but in a minority position. The socialist New Democratic Party "holds the balance" with 31 of 264 seats. In opposition are the Progressive-Conservatives with 107 and Social Credit with 15. Generally speaking, each group lives up to its party name—though there are some peculiar exceptions.

The **Liberal Party**, under suave but ageing Pierre Trudeau, has effectively legalized abortion and "removed the state from the nation's bedrooms". It's also pushed for softer drug laws and penitentiary reform. In almost every other area, it has been consistent with the liberal doctrine of the U.S. and Britain. Except for a slightly puzzling position on price and wage controls. In spite of ranting from the P.C.s, the Liberal Government has refused to impose wage or price controls. The position is not founded on principle—since it "has a plan for such emergency controls"—but more on indecision. The party economists also seem to be aware that U.S. controls have an overflow effect on Canada. And, the politicos probably consider the reaction to "voluntary controls" suggested some time ago—total lack of cooperation. So, the party's pragmatism offers some dim hope for freedom.

The **Progressive-Conservative Party**, hungry for power, is a compendium of contradictions, led by a lack-luster, unintelligent Robert Stanfield. Eager to Progress away from the Conservative stance of its former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, the party has ignored social issues and pressed forward with an almost blatant fascism. The party, like its leader, can rarely be pinned-down on issues—prefering simply to find fault in the *technique* of the Liberals. Its last campaign was run on the sole premise of "stimulating the economy", with heavy innuendoes of imposing wage—if not price—controls. The Party is bankrupt in every sense of the word.

The **Social Credit Party** is only worthy of a light skim. It has one issue and one cancer: the theory of social credit. In essence, it states that paper currency has inherent value, and proposes that consumers be given an indirect credit by printing more money. It's commonly referred to as "Funny Money", and has earned the party a similar reputation.

The **New Democratic Party** is the nazi—that is, national socialist—party in Canada. It is avowedly nationalist and socialist. It wants Americans out and the government in. It now controls 3 of 10 provincial governments and, as mentioned earlier, holds "the balance of power" in the federal government. As one NDP legislator told me, "The party isn't moving toward communism—it has moved beyond it." As one Liberal Party officer told me. "The Canadian political system is simple. The NDP sets policy. the Liberals see that it becomes law and the PCs make sure it works." With a charismatic leader, the NDP could easily take over all those functions and do a re-run of Chile. At the moment, there is none in sight.

If the NDP should some day take power, there will be little left to do that hasn't been accomplished under the present "system". The government presently owns: the largest of two national TV & Radio networks, the larger of two national rail lines, all power-producing stations, several "natural resource industries" and (of course) the post office and roads. As well, it (federally or provincially) has direct control over: all schools, colleges and universities, all forms of mass transportation, most scientific research and most international trade. The state indirectly controls almost everything in Canada. And there is, at present, no promising avenue of escape.

Yes, there is a **secessionist movement** in Quebec, but not one of consequence. The basic ethic of the movement is Marxist, and its position is likely to remain one of minority. It is a handy tool for the provincial Liberal government in convincing the federal Liberal government to pass it a larger share of the booty. The Parti Quebecois is also a soother for those in some sympathy with the Trotskyite F.L.Q. (no more "Crisis" of the October, '70 variety is in evidence). Threats of Western Canadian secession last year were spiritless and heavy with political expedience.

The only vehicle of mainly consistent support for economic freedom has been the **Canadian Chamber of Commerce.** While they lack the libertarian ethic, and shun the word "capitalist", they strongly favor free trade. They have feigned any thought of becoming politicized, but seem to be more active in expressing their opposition to growing government controls. It seems unlikely that they have the wherewithal to make any significant dent in the existing government bureaucracy.

Aside from that, Canadian libertarians have little cause for optimism. Which is not to say that there aren't occasional, isolated expressions of rationality. There seems to be a meagre, yet growing number of freedom-conscious individualists. The prospect of a Libertarian Party in Canada is heartening, in that it could give these "cries in the wilderness" some unity and strength. In the meantime, the best a libertarian can hope for is maintenance of the status-quo: a minority government with pragmatists in power.

William Westmiller

libertarian party correspondent—

The Libertarian Party's secret and powerful *Committee on Political Intelligence* (COPI) has recently submitted a report to LP's national Executive Committee indicating that it was having a difficult time finding any. This Committee, which is charged with the serious responsibility of bringing the LP into the big leagues of national politics, was created in response to the numerous demands for action which have been flooding into the Excom as a result of the Watergate hearings.

These hearings have revealed how seriously the Republican Party hierarchy has taken its responsibility to do in the enemy. What, Party members are asking, is the LP doing to insure its viability as a major political force in America?

Clearly, political success today depends on a consistent, well thought out philosophy of political espionage. This is necessary, of course, to provide a steady flow of *scandal* concerning opposing parties. The LP is anxious not to get the reputation of being unsophisticated and hopes COPI will be able to turn up enough embarrassing data on the Other Guys to allow the Party to avoid mundane things like issues. (Remember Chappaquiddick and forget about socialized medicine.)

Since it is a secret organization, information on COPI is only available from Committee members at periodic press leak conferences. Your LP Correspondent, however, has been able to obtain certain pre-leak leaks from a ranking member of COPI concerning two unsuccessful but nonetheless game attempts to duplicate the heroic efforts of its counterpart in the Republican Party, the Nixon Administration.

The first, which involved two months of intensive research employing some of the most subtle of subterfuges (one LPer wore a fake mustache during the early stages of the investigation), failed to capitalize on an undeniably brilliant ploy: Get to Nixon by substantiating the oft-heard rumors that David and Julie Eisenhower engaged in premarital petting!

Undaunted by the total lack of success in finding any such information, COPI next undertook to bug telephones at the headquarters of the LP's most direct competition in the '72 Presidential election, the Socialist Workers' Party. Three weeks of patient listening to silence prompted the buggers to check with the telephone monopoly which confirmed their worst fears: Failure of the SWP to pay their telephone bills had resulted in a discontinuance of service the previous month.

Despite these setbacks the Libertarian Party continues to set ambitious goals. Over the next several years the LP hopes to accomplish the herculean task of removing from office some 13,874,192 incompetent bureaucrats. These office holders come in all shapes and sizes. Some are elected, some are appointed and all are unnecessary. Given its limited resources the question of priority is an important one to the LP in deciding which elections to participate in first. It is obvious that the City of New York has been a victim of bureaucratic bungling for far too long and so it is not surprising that considerable enthusiasm is developing for the candidacy of the Free Libertarian Party's **Francine Youngstein** who is running for Mayor of Fun City.

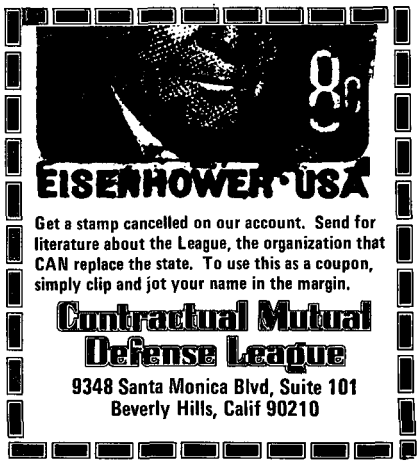
New York mayoral candidate Fran Youngstein

Frantic Fran has been charming the citizens of NYC since July 12 when her petition drive to get on the ballot began. The FLPers will be attempting to obtain some 20,000 signatures before the August 23 deadline. Many libertarians across the country have contributed to the campaign and pledged more money if Youngstein is successful in getting on the ballot. She has scheduled a fund raising trip in early August that will take her to Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and two or three other cities. Given the grey mediocrity of the major party candidates for Mayor, Fran's articulate and enthusiastic presence could represent the Libertarian Party's greatest opportunity for national publicity in 1973.

NOTES . . .

John Goodson, LP candidate for governor of **New Jersey**, continues to receive good media coverage . . . Dr. Jerry Millett, chairman of the LP of **Louisiana**, testified before the Committee on Bill of Rights and Elections in Baton Rouge. Jeff Daiell has started a Libertarian Society of Shreveport . . . Sarah Helber of Dallas has been elected chairwoman of the **Texas** LP at its state convention last June. Libertarian activist Mike Holmes was chosen vice chairman. Past TLP chairman Guy Story Brown deserves much credit for making the party one of the most effective in the nation. Texas is interested in hosting the 1974 national LP convention . . . If the Republicans spent $10,000 in their *un*successful attempt to keep Schmitz off the ballot in California last year, how much did they spend on Hospers who was unable to get on the ballot? . . . Winston Duke reports that the **Illinois** LP is continuing its rapid post-election growth. Bob Meier of Chicago has been active in the ILP . . . Members of the LP of **California** gave John Hospers a standing ovation after his second annual Fourth of July address. The LPC has recently hired a full-time Executive Secretary and is anxious to receive contributions to help finance this important project. William K. Shearer, nationally prominent figure in the American Independent Party, recently met for five hours with California LP officers in Los Angeles . . . The national LP has established communications with **Denmark's** libertarian-like Progressive Party . . . .

Edward H. Crane, III



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movies

REVIEWED BY
CHARLES BARR

• **JESUS CHRIST SUPERSTAR** is a powerful, flawed giant of a movie whose cumulative impact transcends its often obscure symbolism and parched atmosphere. The story centers around the last days of Jesus Christ, who is portrayed as a charismatic figure (and somewhat of an ego-tripper), idolized by his followers in much the same manner as the pop heroes of today. The question of his divinity is deliberately left open. Judas, the other central figure in this musical drama, is portrayed as an intense idealist who is fearful that Jesus' activities will bring down the wrath of the Roman state upon himself and his followers. Carl Anderson as Judas delivers far and away the best performance in the film. He has a rich, deep singing voice and is able to sustain a high level of emotional intensity. Ted Neeley is rather weak in the role of Jesus, and he tends to underplay the dramatic confrontations between himself and Judas. (I think Bruce Scott, who replaced Neeley in last year's Los Angeles stage production, would have been a better choice.) Even so, Neeley is possessed of a rich singing voice, and performs brilliantly in two big scenes: the casting of the money-changers from the temple, and the Gethsemane soliloquy. Yvonne Elliman delivers a rich, moving portrayal of Mary Magdalene, attempting vainly to provide an oasis of tranquility in the midst of the headlong rush of events. The lesser roles are played exceptionally well, with Barry Dennen insecure as a fence-straddling Pilate, Bob Bingham villainous as the high priest Caiaphas, Larry Marshall energetic as Simon Zealotes, Joshua Mostel campy as Herod. The entire production was filmed on location in the deserts of Israel, but curiously enough the awesome backdrops serve to shrink the spectacle rather than augment it; the events appear to be taking place in a kind of vacuum. The occasional, puzzling intrusion of unexplained anachronisms, such as tanks, planes and a bus, tend to be distracting. The movie is by no means intended to be a model of realism, and many of its devices are effective, but just as many others fall flat. Virtually the entire production is sung and danced, and Rob Iscove's choreography is energetic and effective. Norman Jewison's direction is quite good, although he tends to play too many tricks with the camera. Devotees of the earlier recorded version, with music by Andrew Lloyd Webber and lyrics by Tim Rice, will be delighted to discover that the original orchestrations have been rendered almost intact by Andre Previn. Despite its shortcomings, *JESUS CHRIST SUPERSTAR* is one of the most exciting spectaculars to come along in several years. Rated "G".

• Since Desmond Morris' best-seller, **THE NAKED APE**, is a non-fiction study in anthropology, it would appear exceedingly difficult to translate this work into a movie with any degree of fidelity. Nevertheless, through selective condensation and smooth integration of diverse film styles and techniques, the film is a faithful rendition of the author's basic concepts. The book dealt with human behavior patterns from a zoological point of view (man as primate), demonstrated that much of this behavior was derived from his evolutionary (as opposed to cultural) background, and concluded that man could ignore his basic "animal" nature and needs only at his peril. Because of time limitations, the movie version encapsulates the book's premises without its mass of supporting documentation, and confines its study of human behavior to the two areas of presumably greatest interest to a general audience: sex and violence. Since the movie contains no plot, continuity is maintained via an interwoven series of comedic sketches, photographic special effects, animation and fantasy, the net effect of which is a multi-media collage with a semi-documentary flavor. The success of this mixture is due in large part to the talents of producer Zev Bufman and writer-director Donald Driver, who earlier collaborated on the off-Broadway multi-media stage hit, *YOUR OWN THING*. Although *THE NAKED APE* does not call for prodigious feats of acting, the performances are all creditable. Johnny Crawford and Victoria Principal make winning lovers, Dennis Olivieri a believable sidekick. The more interesting bit parts include Robert Ito as a menacing Samurai, and Norman Grabowski as an archetypal Army Sergeant. The philosophy presented in *THE NAKED APE* may not be to everyone's liking (and I have some serious reservations of my own), but the movie is not so much a propaganda piece as a fresh look at some of the more fascinating forms of human behavior. Rated "PG".

Live action and animation are combined in the film version of THE NAKED APE.

• Time is beginning to take its toll on the James Bond films. The cheap thrills are becoming cheaper, the plots more absurd, the special effects more strained. Sean Connery added a touch of dash, polish and genteel cynicism to the role of Bond in most of the previous films; but he's gone now, and Roger Moore, to judge by his performance in **LIVE AND LET DIE**, is a thoroughly inadequate replacement. Looking more like New York Mayor John Lindsay than a professional spy, Moore sleepwalks through the part, seemingly bent on making Bond as colorless a character as possible. Yaphet Kotto, as the notorious "Mr. Big." portrays intensity and purpose, but does not appear particularly villainous, and certainly not as powerful as the character created by Ian Fleming in the book upon which this movie is loosely based. Jane Seymour, as the mysterious, mystical Solitaire, delivers the best performance in the film, though in the last half she seems to exist

mainly for the purpose of being repeatedly rescued by Bond. Some of the visual sequences are quite stunning, especially the voodoo rituals that take place in Haiti. Production values are excellent, as usual. The plot is thin: Mr. Big has an ingenious plan to set up a huge narcotics operation, and Bond is out to stop him. Suitable amounts of simulated mayhem and simulated sex are dished out, and a semi-comic speedboat chase provides the highlight of the action. In many respects *LIVE AND LET DIE* is the mixture as before, but the lack of characterization reduces it to the level of a series of revue sketches. Rated "PG".

• **THE MAN WHO LOVED CAT DANCING** is as improbable a love story as you are likely to find; and the fact that it succeeds is due in large measure to the performances of Burt Reynolds and Sarah Miles. The inner characters which they portray stand in sharp contrast to their outer roles. The setting is the old West. Sarah Miles plays a prim, intensely private woman, running away from an obnoxious husband. She is kidnapped during a train robbery by a gang of outlaws led by Burt Reynolds. Despite his seeming indifference, a kind of bond grows between the two of them, which is heightened when the outlaws begin fighting among themselves, leaving Reynolds as the sole survivor. The two are relentlessly pursued by a posse, led by Lee J. Cobb (a Wells Fargo agent) and including George Hamilton (the vengeful husband). Reynolds' aloof, silent character is gradually brought into focus as the details of his past life are revealed during a stopover at an Indian village; but his subsequent career as a bandit is not satisfactorily explained. Sarah Miles plays a character who is, if anything, even more mysterious. Her attraction to Reynolds, in the context of the story, seems incomprehensible; yet, thanks to the chemistry of their performances, it becomes believable. The plot suffers by comparison, being carried along principally by the sketchily-defined supporting players. The script is often second-rate, but contains occasional moments of brilliance and a satisfactory climactic scene. The direction and photography are just average. But the performances of Burt Reynolds and Sarah Miles alone make this a movie worth seeing. Rated "PG".

book review

FOR A NEW LIBERTY. By Murray N. Rothbard. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1973. Pp. 327. $7.95.

Reviewed by R. A. Childs, Jr.

Writing in his preface to *MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE,* over a decade ago, Murray N. Rothbard had occasion to refer to Ludwig von Mises' great treatise on economics, *HUMAN ACTION. "HUMAN ACTION,"* he wrote, "is a general treatise, but not an old-style Principles. Instead, it assumes considerable previous economic knowledge and includes within its spacious confines numerous philosophic and historical insights. In one sense, the present work [*MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE*] attempts to isolate the economic, fill in the interstices, and spell out the detailed implications, as I see them, of the Misesian structure."

Upon reading this work, which was to be the first two volumes in Rothbard's three-volume work on economic principles, many individuals, myself included, assumed that Rothbard nevertheless still agreed with Mises' basic "philosophic and historical insights," and that he agreed with Mises' political beliefs as well. But for the next several years, certain anomalies began to appear, as Rothbard turned increasingly from economics to political theory. It became more and more clear that *whatever* Rothbard was politically speaking, he was no Misesian. Indeed, during the mid-1960's, many conservatives and libertarians were heard to remark with puzzlement at Rothbard's apparent turn from a free market position to that of socialism. The occasion? His articles in *RAMPARTS* magazine and elsewhere, which showed that his political theory was much more radical than had been previously suspected, and that, in fact, he had almost nothing in common with the conservative ideology. For here, in these articles and in widely reported private conversations, Rothbard had indicated his basic antiwar position, his belief that the U.S. was responsible, in the main, for the genesis and maintenance of the Cold War, his support of disarmament, of aspects of the earlier New Left, and of many other apparently incomprehensible political positions. At first, rumors circulated about his apparent anarchism and what Henry Hazlitt denounced as his "extreme a priorism." Mises criticized his supposedly crackpotish legal philosophy in a review of *MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE.* Then there were rumors about Rothbard's belief that the U.S. was an imperialistic power, that there was no such thing as a "communist threat," and his belief in some kind of a revolution. William F. Buckley, Jr., would make statements about Rothbard's belief in free market lighthouses and in demunicipalizing garbage disposal. And stories were circulated about Rothbard's personal life: his apartment was painted black, and Rothbard often spent hours in a huge lounge chair stroking a black cat (both of which were untrue). Several years ago, I asked one prominent libertarian leader to explain Rothbard's position to me, and he replied that Rothbard favored destroying property; another time, at a class at Rampart College that I attended in 1967, Rothbard was explicitly classified as a socialist in a class session on individualist and socialist thought.

He was indeed denounced and misunderstood by all sides; Objectivists, anarcho-communists, New Leftists, Cold Warriors and conservatives alike began to treat Rothbard as taboo.

And yet, a growing number of libertarians began to question these anomalies. Was not Rothbard, after all, a man who rivaled Mises in his knowledge of economics, Hayek in the depth of his scholarship, and Ayn Rand in her devotion to the validity of reason and of system-building? Had he not indeed fathered not only a growing number of books, but dozens of articles and essays, reputedly on everything from economics to the epistemology of the social sciences, from the nature of revolution to the foreign policy of the Old Right, from the fallacies of egalitarianism to the nature of property rights, from polemics directed against current

economic fallacies to an essay on the philosophy of aesthetics? The answer was unmistakable. Just what was the base of the growing fascination of young libertarians with this man and his controversial thought? Why was the subject of Rothbard and his views treated as something to be avoided by more conventional libertarians and conservatives? Not choosing to confront Rothbard's views directly, these people chose to attempt to bury them. But they found that ideas cannot be buried; the lessons they should have learned in dealing with liberals and communists on this score can be applied to Rothbard as well. Allergic to scholarship, conservatives and libertarians have been puzzled by Rothbard's ideology. Not wishing to plow through at least three dozen articles and essays by Rothbard to grasp the meaning and nature of his world-view, they have been content to hail him as a genius in economics . . . but whenever he strayed outside of what they chose to narrowly define as "his field," he was ridiculed as a crackpot or worse. Rothbard the political theorist was, alas, hopelessly muddled. Never mind that these critics didn't have his grasp of economics, history, political philosophy and didn't care to exert the effort necessary to equal him; it was sufficient to spurn Rothbard's political views as silly.

ROTHBARD'S INFLUENCE

But the Rothbardian system, and the movement he spawned, marched on. His influence began to grow, imperceptibly at first, but then to such an extent that no one could ignore it; his comrades of spirit began to spread throughout the country, challenging his critics and detractors with a weapon the critics often did not possess: scholarship. Almost singlehandedly, Rothbard has caused or inspired the reevaluation of limited government, of American political history, and of American foreign policy. The Rothbardian system is indeed on the move. And whatever one may think of it, or its adherents, one fact cannot be evaded: Rothbard is the author of a growing system of libertarian thought based on reason *and* scholarship.

In recent years, this system has increasingly begun to reach a mass market, to hit the mass media. His articles have appeared in the *NEW YORK TIMES* and in *INTELLECTUAL DIGEST;* he has appeared on numerous television and radio programs, including the *TODAY* show. But now, the biggest breakthrough yet has been accomplished: for the first time, Rothbard's political philosophy has been presented in book form, published by a major publishing house, The Macmillan Company. While the entire system of Rothbard is not by any means contained in this book, which is intended as a primer on libertarianism, a goodly portion of it is outlined.

If *MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE* was an attempt to isolate Mises' economic principles from the rest of the Misesian ideology—from Mises philosophic, historical and political positions—*FOR A NEW LIBERTY* is Rothbard's philosophic, historical and political "footnote" to *MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE.* While there are many gaps in the book, due mostly to the necessary compromise between a scholarly work and a popular "mass-market" work, here at last is the Rothbardian system whole, from the basic premises of his social philosophy to his view on foreign policy. It is a book rich with insights and solutions to problems far too numerous to mention; its footnotes alone are enough to send one off to the library stacks for a couple of years. Therefore, only the briefest overview is possible here, focusing on some of the more significant portions of the book.

The book consists of four sections: one on the nature of the libertarian movement, a section devoted to defining and deriving the basic principles of libertarianism, an application of Rothbard's political philosophy to solve current problems, and a "strategy for liberty." It is, in my view, the most scholarly, systematic and convincing book of its type.

The first section is a sprightly and lively history of the libertarian movement; Rothbard presents the major existing libertarian centers in outline form, defining their position in the movement, their strengths and weaknesses.

As good as this section is, however, it is with the second section that the book begins to pick up momentum. And let there be no mistake about it, this book has a momentum of its own. It blends that unique Rothbardian clarity, wit and passion with an excitement and optimism all its own. Many libertarians do not understand the key to Rothbard's influence; *FOR A NEW LIBERTY* will give them that key. For Rothbard, whatever his scholarly accomplishments, is a child at heart, in the best sense of the term. I doubt that he has ever regarded a problem as unsolvable; there is a great glee in him as he tackles a puzzle. Perhaps the Rothbardian spirit can best be captured thus: Rothbard is an *epistemological optimist.* There is no touch of the pathological skeptic in him; for him, the very purpose in stating a problem is to solve it. And solve problems he does, with virtuoso performances on every page. Rothbard is a problem-solver *par excellance*—a one-man think tank. His inventiveness, imagination, insights and powers of integration are amazing. I have never seen anyone tackle intellectual problems with his degree of skill, with that unique blend of originality, genius and, above all else, *scholarship,* which is the Rothbardian style.

Section two, "The Libertarian Creed," consists of two chapters: "Property and Exchange," and what is undoubtedly Rothbard's pet hate, "The State." Most of the groundwork for the rest of the book, and for Rothbard's system of liberty, is done here. In his book on *THE CONSTITUTION OF LIBERTY,* F. A. Hayek states that there are two basic variants in the literature of liberty, the so-called "rationalist" tradition of the French Enlightenment, and the "anti-rationalist" tradition of the English classical liberals, who opposed system-building, deduction of a set of principles from axioms, and who favored a form of traditionalism. Hayek, by these terms, is an "antirationalist" (though often a clever one), while Rothbard is a "rationalist" in the grandest way.

CORE OF ROTHBARDIAN SYSTEM

The core, the *leitmotif,* of the Rothbardian system is justice in property titles. This provides the basis for integrating the entire libertarian philosophy. Here Rothbard is at his strongest. Criticizing the utilitarian and emotivist libertarian views, he stands foresquare in the "natural law" tradition of ethics. Working from a basically Aristotelian-Thomistic base (very similar to Objectivism), he deduces from the requirements of man's nature not only the necessity for property rights *per se*, but also what virtually every other libertarian intellectual has avoided: *specific criteria* for differentiating between just and unjust property titles; in this crucially important respect, he surpasses Rand, Mises, Hayek and Friedman. Furthermore, he shows, contrary to the claim of most of these other libertarians, that a set of concrete criteria of justice in property rights is a *necessary precondition* for any rational legal system. From this, he deduces the libertarian axiom of nonaggression, that no man or group of men may use aggressive violence or the threat of it against the person or property of a nonaggressor.

Then he applies this to a searching and perceptive critique of the State apparatus.

This is one of the great joys of the book. He focuses on the State apparatus as *the* great engine of aggression, and makes several points which libertarians would expect him to make. But beyond this, there are several fascinating sections, particularly on why the State apparatus necessarily develops into *oligarchic* rule, on the failure of written constitutions, on the "class struggle" under Statism, and on the relationship between the State and the intellectuals. This last is a superb section, particularly relevant today in the aftermath of the Vietnam debacle, the Pentagon Papers revelations, and so many other things which involve an alliance between intellectuals and the State.

After this, Rothbard presses on with his problem solving, taking up such issues as: involuntary servitude in all of its forms (including compulsory jury duty)—personal liberty—education—welfare and the welfare state—government in business—streets and roads—police, law and the courts—conservation, ecology and growth—and war and foreign policy. The greatest and most convincing of these are the chapters on personal liberty, education, conservation, ecology and growth, and war and foreign policy. The chapters on police, law and the courts (which has already been hailed as "definitive") and the foreign policy chapter will cause the most stir among libertarians. In the chapter on personal liberty, he addresses all of the common problems, everything from pornography to abortion, from free speech (solving the "crying 'fire' in a crowded theater" problem on the way) to freedom of radio and television. The exciting thing is that Rothbard does not *stop* with deducing the correct, libertarian, position on these issues. In many cases, such as that of radio and television, you see Rothbard showing how the problem arose historically, pinpointing those laws and court decisions which brought our communications system to its present mess. So you see the problems themselves emerging in front of you, and see how a nest of problems has emerged *in a hierarchy* because of mistakes or corruption. He does this in most other significant cases as well. The education chapter covers all of the most significant issues, as well as some which most libertarians might not have expected to see taken up. Specifically, Rothbard looks into the history of the "drive for public schooling and compulsory attendance in this and other countries" and finds "at the root not so much misguided altruism as a conscious scheme to coerce the mass of the population into a mould desired by the Establishment."

In the chapter on the welfare state, he takes up again most of the obvious problems, and then addresses himself to the neglected issue of whether or not, concretely, the welfare state is of benefit to the poor; he concludes that the welfare state harms the poor more than it helps them. The chapter on free market courts and police, and parts of the chapter on streets and roads, (with which readers of *REASON* are already familiar—excerpts appeared in *REASON's* March 1973 cover story) discuss protection and defense without the State apparatus.

A brilliant virtuoso section comes with "Conservation, Ecology and Growth," where Rothbard traces liberal flip-flops in their attacks on capitalism, from complaints that capitalism leads to stagnation to the modern complaints that capitalism "grows" too fast and will deplete not only our natural resources but lead to ecological disaster as well. This is probably one of the best treatments of the ecology and conservations issues ever written.

The chapter on "War and Foreign Policy" will prove to be the most controversial to libertarians—particularly Objectivists who, being allergic to scholarship, haven't the slightest desire to follow up on Rothbard's footnotes for the full proof of his positions. And the chapter is indeed too sketchy in many ways, but even that enables him to raise so many issues and questions that anyone who is interested will end up not only with a great many things to think about, but a pile of research projects as well. Rothbard somewhat overstates his case against U.S. foreign policy here, but in the main this chapter is the single best thing ever written by a libertarian on foreign policy. Not that the chapter is a treatise unto itself, but rather the problem is that no one else has studied the issues to the extent that Rothbard has—at least no one among his opponents.

STRATEGY FOR LIBERTY

With "A Strategy for Liberty," we reach the passionate conclusion for a passionate book. "And so we have it," Rothbard writes, "a body of truth, sound in theory and capable of application to our political problems—the new libertarianism. But now that we have the truth, how can we achieve victory? We face the great strategic problem of all 'radical' creeds throughout history: How can we get from here to there, from our current State-ridden and imperfect world to the great goal of liberty?" His proposals involve a blend of scholarship, education, activism and organization, again a uniquely Rothbardian vision, as will be discovered fully by those who study this book.

Is the book flawless? Certainly not, and I would not maintain that it is. For one thing, there is a tension in the book between the twin goals of scholarship and rigor on the one hand, and the requirements of a "popular" or mass-market manifesto on the other. There are many gaps where the necessary evidence is not presented, or where chains of Rothbard's sustained logical argument are missing—logical argoments not even to be found fully among his published works, since some of his most important contributions (particularly in social philosophy and history) remain unpublished and unavailable. There are also a few errors or overstatements. One of the most tragic and important is Rothbard's characterization of Rand. Not only does Rothbard not fully appreciate Rand's contributions to technical philosophy, he misrepresents her philosophical position as well, confusing her own rational (almost Aristotelian) egoism with Nietzschianism, and her Objectivist epistemology with Aristotelianism (there are significant and fundamental differences between the two). Moreover, his own case for liberty, particularly in the realm of "meta-ethics," could be immeasurably strengthened by following Rand's deduction of man's life as man's standard of value, and her reconciliation of natural rights with self-interest, by means of showing what *is in fact* to man's interest in a social context. Moreover, the entire first chapter is somewhat of a disappointment, since it is a journalistic history of the libertarian movement; this is a tragedy because Rothbard is uniquely qualified to write an intellectual history of libertarianism, particularly of American individualist thought. But this last is due, no doubt, to the limitations of the book itself, and because of the "introductory" purposes which it is intended to serve. The former problem—Rothbard's conflict with Rand—is a tragic consequence of the unnecessary antagonism which exists between Objectivists and Rothbardians. Each sees the other, fundamentally speaking, as an antagonist; I see both as mutually supplementary. The foreign policy chapter, too, is a bit *too* sketchy for my taste. Also, in the first chapter, not only does Rothbard erroneously mention the stillborn *LIBERTARIAN REVIEW* as the libertarian movement's major publication, but he also neglects to mention *REASON* magazine at all. By almost any standard, *REASON* must take first place among libertarian journals. But these objections are not central to the book, and do not detract from its invaluable assets.

With the publication of *FOR A NEW LIBERTY* we at long last have the Rothbardian world-view intact. Many of us

could indeed figure out the solutions to some of these problems on our own, but to be able to learn them from such a creative mind as that of Rothbard saves us a mammoth amount of time and creative energy, and allows us to begin on his shoulders, so to speak, facing new challenges and new horizons that much further down the road to our great goal of liberty.

MAMMOTH CONTRIBUTIONS

In many ways, with this book Rothbard has brought the libertarian movement up to a certain level, and this is one of his most important and lasting achievements. Just as Rand, Mises and Hayek have added significant wings to the structure of the libertarian ideal, now we have Rothbard's mammoth contributions as well. For the Rothbardian ideology allows us, as libertarians, to look at our own present condition with a sense of *context,* with a view of our relationship not only to the present, but to the past and future as well. He has made the libertarian movement ideologically and historically *self-conscious,* combining a sweeping knowledge of mankind's past with an unquenchable optimism in his attitude towards the struggles we yet face. Rothbard has given libertarians a sense of reality about themselves which is ever so important. And, finally, he gives the movement a firm sense of *goal-directedness,* which is necessary for the success of any movement *qua* movement.

This then is the Rothbardian system, the Rothbardian manifesto. One cannot say everything in one book, and Murray Rothbard doesn't pretend to have done that here. But he has said a great many things of paramount importance, and if they are ignored or evaded, we as libertarians will be the losers. It is more than a vitally important work, and more than required reading for all libertarians. It is the basic statement in defense of liberty of one of the twentiety century's great minds, a system of liberty which he has hammered out over the last quarter of a century. It may prove to be the most important ideological work to appear in years, and should help us move several steps forward toward the libertarian ideal. Even for a book filled with such passion and optimism, it is on a most passionate note indeed that Rothbard closes his blazing *manifesto:*

> Strands and remnants of libertarian doctrines are, indeed, all around us, in large parts of our glorious past and in values and ideas in the confused present. But only libertarianism takes these strands and remnants and integrates them into a mighty, logical and consistent system. The enormous success of Karl Marx and Marxism has been due not to the validity of his ideas—all of which, indeed, are fallacious—but to the fact that he dared to weave socialist theory into a mighty system. Liberty cannot succeed without an equivalent and contrasting systematic theory; and until the last few years, despite our great heritage of economic and political thought and practice, we have not had a fully integrated and consistent theory of liberty. We now have that systematic theory; we come, fully armed with our knowledge, prepared to bring our message and to capture the imagination of all groups and strands in the population. All other theories and systems have clearly failed: socialism is in retreat everywhere, and notably in Eastern Europe; liberalism has bogged us down in a host of insoluble problems; conservatism has nothing to offer but sterile defense of the *status quo.* Liberty has never been fully tried *in the modern world; libertarians* now propose to fulfill the American dream and the world dream of liberty and prosperity for all mankind.

R. A. Childs is editor of BOOKS FOR LIBERTARIANS. He authored the significant two-part article, "Big Business and the Rise of American Statism: A Revisionist History," in the February and March 1971 issues of REASON, and his review of IT USUALLY BEGINS WITH AYN RAND appeared in REASON's June/July 1972 issue.

THERE AIN'T NO SUCH THING AS FREE WATER

"There is enough water to meet essential needs, but not enough to waste . . . . Water is not different from any other natural resource except that it is more essential than many others . . . . Water should therefore be considered an economic resource, and the Commission believes all users receiving an economic return from water should pay the full costs of services."

With these words, the National Water Commission's final report may signal the beginning of the end for one of America's all-time boondoggles—the federal government's conglomerate of free-water programs. Under the aegis of the Army Corps of Engineers, the Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation, and the Agriculture Department's Soil Conservation Service, the federal government has for 70 years been draining, damming, channelizing, irrigating, and canal building, at little or no charge to the beneficiaries: barge lines, farmers, sportsmen, and land developers. These privileged groups may lose their place at the trough, however, if the Commission's strongly-worded recommendations are followed.

The National Water Commission is at least the twentieth investigative body to examine federal water policies in the past 70 years. It was created by President Johnson in 1968 to provide the "last word" on federal water policy. Under the leadership of Charles F. Luce (board chairman of Consolidated Edison), the Commission has produced a comprehensive, hard-nosed analysis of who pays and who benefits under the current subsidy arrangement; it has also spelled out who will lose and who will gain under its proposed user charge philosophy. The 232 specific recommendations are expressly designed to provide "relief for the American taxpayer," while conserving water through market pricing mechanisms.

Among the specific effects of full-cost pricing of water projects would be the following:

- The federal government would no longer be paying farmers to keep 50 million acres of cropland idle each year, while simultaneously paying up to 90% of the cost of "reclaiming" 9 million acres a year.
- With farmers paying market prices for irrigation projects, the consumer would pay a bit more for food, but less taxes for irrigation and farm subsidies.
- Home owners would pay somewhat more for sewerage than at present.
- User charges on industrial water from federal projects and on federally

maintained waterways could increase some consumer prices, but would encourage water conservation and more economical transportation choices.

• The feasibility of dams and other large-scale projects would be evaluated using a realistic market-value discount rate, rather than the absurd 3.5% rate currently used.

Opposition to the Commission's philosophy and proposals is already being heard, especially from western agriculturists who have come to depend on nearly-free irrigation projects, and from barge operators who have grown fat by undercutting railroads, thanks to federally built and maintained waterways. This is certainly a time for libertarians—as taxpayers—to make their voices heard in favor of free-market pricing and against the continuation of massive federal water subsidies.

SOURCES:
• "Water Panel Feels Users Should Pay," AP (Washington), 30 November 1972.
• "Water Commission: No More Free Rides for Users," *SCIENCE*, 13 April 1973.
• "Changes in U.S. Water Policies Urged," UPI (Washington), 19 June 1973.

ALASKA SELF-DETERMINATION

The latest "new-country" project is located, not on some far-off island or tropical jungle, but right here at home, in the 49th state. In the space of a few weeks, 15,000 Alaskans have signed petitions addressed to the President and Congress asking that Alaska be allowed to declare its independence. The campaign's backers, though not explicitly ideological, apparently have struck a responsive chord with many Alaskans, who are fed up with the domination of the state by the federal government.

The originators of the proposal, Fairbanks miner and real-estate developer Joe Vogler, notes that Alaskans are "totally controlled by groups outside Alaska. We should control our destiny and not be a colony. Compared to the things we're subjected to, King George III was a gentleman." Some of the more important of the grievances of the signers include the repeated blocking of the Alaska pipeline, new restrictions on logging, and invasion of the coastal waters by foreign fishing fleets. The *CHEECHAKO NEWS* has commented editorially that "Every resource in Alaska is now either shot down by a moratorium or so circumscribed by new laws and asinine bureaucratic regulations that the only profitable operations left in the state are gambling, sex, and booze. Two of these are illegal and the third pays an 85 percent federal tax on its product."

Petitioner Vogler notes that if Alaska were independent, it could set the price of gold at $150 per ounce, and establish a gold-backed currency. This would make it possible for gold mining to flourish once again in the new nation. With a gold-backed currency, wide open spaces, and the rugged individualism of many of its people, Alaska could literally provide a golden opportunity for libertarians to put their principles into action.

SOURCE:
• News item, *ALASKA*, June 1973, p. 64.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS UNDER FIRE

Popular support for the public school system appears to be reaching an all-time low. As primary and secondary schools increasingly turn out students who cannot read and write, and have no marketable job skills, taxpayer willingness to support the system continues to decline. One of the most telling recent developments occurred last fall in San Francisco, when an 18-year-old graduate of public high school sued the school system for $1 million, contending that the system had defrauded him and his parents, by giving him a degree without teaching him to read and write.

Named as defendants in the suit (*Peter Doe v. San Francisco Unified School District,* filed 20 November 1972) were the city school district and board of education, the state Department of Education and its Superintendent, and 100 employees of the public school system. The student's attorney, Suzanne Martinez, pointed out that "Doe" had a normal attendance record and was not a disciplinary problem; furthermore, since leaving high school, he has demonstrated that he *can* be educated, and private tutoring has begun to overcome his deficiencies. The suit contends that the man was graduated "unqualified for employment other than the most demeaning, unskilled, low-paid manual labor," when the law required the educational system to ensure that he met certain standards before receiving a diploma. The suit asks $500,000 general damages, $500,000 punitive damages, and the costs of a private tutor.

The concept of holding public schools accountable for performance (something which would be automatic under a free-market system of education), is just beginning to dawn on most people. As a result of the Doe suit, a four-day conference on the subject of public school accountability was held in Washington, D.C. in March. Copies of the conference transcript, "Fraud in the Schools: Court Challenge to Accountability," are available from the Educational Policy Research Corp., 1206 Harris Street, Syracuse, NY 13210.

SOURCES:
• "Poor Reader Blames Schools, Sues for $1 Million," AP (San Francisco), 23 November 1972.
• "Peter Doe v. S.F. Unified School District," *NEW SCHOOLS EXCHANGE NEWSLETTER*, Issue #99, 31 May 1973.

COMING OUT OF THE DRAFT

On 1 July 1973 the United States military draft came to an end, amidst complaints and controversy. On the one hand, libertarians pointed out that the Selective Service machinery remains in operation, requiring men to register and be classified, and needing only Congressional authorization to begin inducting once more. Senator Mark Hatfield is among those leading a Senate campaign to dismantle the S.S. system entirely. On the other hand, such disparate critics as Teddy Kennedy and various southern Democratic hawks are criticizing the current volunteer military as unworkable.

In the midst of this controversy the Brookings Institution has completed a comprehensive analysis of the problems and prospects for a successful volunteer armed forces. Its basic conclusion: despite problems of obtaining enough of the needed skills, "The U.S. *can* accomplish what no other nation has attempted—to maintain an active armed force of over 2 million men and women on a voluntary basis." To do this will cost an additional $3 billion annually, compared with draft-era budgets, and will require modifications to current recruiting policies and standards. In particular, the Brookings report urged increased recruiting of women and older men, relaxing physical standards for noncombatants, offering scholarships for college students and doctors, and using more civilians. Based on data accumulated since January (when induction of draftees ceased), Brookings concluded that voluntary methods can be counted on to produce a military force of acceptable quantity and quality.

In the meantime, it appears that the Selective Service system is slowly coming apart, despite the failure (thus far) of Hatfield's legislative efforts. All across the country large numbers of 18-year-olds are declining to register with their draft boards. S.S. director Byron V. Pepitone has refused to make any public estimate

of the size of the problem, beyond admitting that the percentage of nonregistrants is "higher than last year." (In 1972 the national average was between 9 and 12%.) Recently the Associated Press made a spot check of local draft boards, and found percentages of nonregistration ranging from zero in Minnesota up to 30% in Illinois and North Carolina. Overall, the most widespread failure to register exists on the west coast and in New England (though the AP did not release figures for these states), with the best compliance in the midwest. Thus, by the time Congress gets around to repealing the S.S. Act (if ever), there may not be much left to dismantle.

SOURCES:
- "Army to Need 1 of Every 3 Qualified Men," *LOS ANGELES TIMES/WASHINGTON POST* wire, 13 June 1973.
- More Youths Failing to Register for Draft," AP (Washington), 14 June 1973.

editorial

MANUEL S. KLAUSNER

BREAKING AND ENTERING AS A WAY OF LIFE

"The security of one's privacy against arbitrary intrusion by the police . . . is basic to a free society."
—Justice Felix Frankfurter, in Wolf v. Colorado (1949).

"If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy."
—Justice Louis D. Brandeis, dissenting, in Olmstead v. United States (1928).

In viewing the recently disclosed willingness of the Nixon administration to embrace extreme measures in the name of national security, it is pertinent to contrast the widespread acquiescence of the public towards encroachments on personal freedom which have regularly been taken by government in the campaign against drugs. The "Watergate mentality" has its genesis in the imperial attitude that government knows what is best for its citizens and may use any means to accomplish its ends.

The President's 1970 "intelligence operations" plan, devised for Nixon by Tom Huston, was not unique in providing for illegal entry and bugging against political dissenters. Authorization for surreptitious entry is expressly contained in the no-knock sections of the Drug Control Act of 1970.

Under the omnibus Drug Control Act, police officials are authorized to enter premises "without notice" by smashing down a door or breaking open a window if there is probable cause to believe a warning would lead to destruction of the drugs being sought or endanger a person's life.

The emotion and fear resulting from legitimate concern over drug abuse has given rise to a misplaced reliance on the criminal law to solve the drug problem, which has led to drastic intrusions into the privacy of the individual. Several recent widely-publicized instances of mistaken narcotic raids in which narcotics agents terrorized innocent families in their homes at night have now led to the convening of a federal grand jury to investigate the tactics of the federal Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement (DALE). DALE was set up in 1972 pursuant to an executive order in which President Nixon stated "The menace of drug abuse threatens to sap our Nation's strength and destroy our Nation's character. It must be combatted in a variety of ways . . . ."

Experienced prosecutors and criminal defense attorneys are well aware of the habitual use of illegal entry, unauthorized wiretaps and perjury by narcotics agents. It is fair to say that improper police practices have become a way of life in narcotics law enforcement, at least in part because of the inherent difficulties in apprehending "criminals" who violate laws which prohibit consensual conduct. Rather than having a victim who is anxious to come forward to disclose the commission of a crime and assist in apprehending the transgressor—as in the case of such crimes as assault, burglary and robbery—none of the participants in a "nonvictim" crime voluntarily come forward to assist the police.

The insidious effects of delegating to the police the task of prohibiting consensual conduct such as drug use, gambling and prostitution have given rise to habitual improprieties on the part of the police because of the inherent incapacity of the criminal law to deal with such conduct.

THE WATERGATE-NARC CONNECTION

In this context it is disquieting and perhaps instructive—although not really surprising—to focus on the Watergate-Narc connection. Many of those in the center of the sordid Watergate affair have served in drug law enforcement earlier in their careers. Dr. Michael R. Aldrich in the June 1973 issue of the *AMORPHIA REPORT* points out that G. Gordon Liddy, E. Howard Hunt, Egil "Bud" Krogh, John Ehrlichman, John J. Caulfield, John Dean, III, Richard Kleindienst, Bernard Barker and John Mitchell *all* appear to have had some involvement in narcotics work, ranging from Operation Intercept and Operation Cooperation, to Operation Eagle in 1969, to a variety of other enforcement activities against drug traffic. The propensity of these individuals to participate in the Watergate bugging and coverup seems quite natural when viewed against their background in narcotics law enforcement and its unsavory aspects.

As noted in the above quotation from Justice Frankfurter's opinion in *Wolf v. Colorado,* "The security of one's privacy against arbitrary intrusion by the police . . . is basic to a free society." In a free society, education and persuasion are the only proper means of attempting to change private conduct which does not infringe the rights of others. For those who seek by the coercive means of the criminal law to impose their morality on others, the limitations of the criminal process in trying to cope with undesired types of consensual conduct is a formidable obstacle.

If respect for personal rights is to be preserved, the government must be constrained from outlawing consensual conduct and from intruding on privacy. The result of government intrusion on private conduct points us in the direction of the police state. Breaking and entering is a way of life only for those who lack respect for personal freedom. Let us hope that one of the positive effects of Watergate may be to lead us away from the police state and into the realm of freedom.

publisher's notes

• **NEW FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT:** We are pleased to add Bill Westmiller to *REASON's* expanding network of foreign correspondents. Westmiller is a television news reporter in Barrie, Ontario (just north of Toronto). He was recently elected to the Executive Committee of the Libertarian Party (United States) and serves as the LP's National Press Secretary and International Liaison Officer. Westmiller's inaugural column appears on page 26 of this issue.

• **SUBSCRIBER QUESTIONNAIRE:** We would like to remind readers of the importance of returning the questionnaire contained in last month's issue. If you haven't yet sent it in, we urge you to take a few minutes to complete the questionnaire and mail it (or a xerox copy) to us promptly.

• **LIBERTARIAN LAWYERS:** *REASON* editor Manuel S. Klausner invited a group of libertarian lawyers to his downtown Los Angeles law offices on 17 July to hear Davis Keeler report on the operation of the Law & Liberty Project of the Institute for Humane Studies. Names of individuals appropriate for including on the listing of libertarian lawyers, law professors and law students should be sent to Keeler at the Institute for Humane Studies, 1134 Crane St., Menlo Park, CA 94025.

• **GOLD LEGALIZATION:** Thanks to an unexpected tug-of-war between the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, the issue of legalized gold is still very much alive. Both houses had passed gold legalization riders to Nixon's dollar devaluation bill, but they differed on the date. The Senate version would have allowed private gold ownership effective 1 January 1974. But the House of Representatives, after rejecting the Senate version in a heartbreaking tie vote of 162-162, adopted a rider that would allow President Nixon (who opposes legalization) to set the date at his discretion. A House-Senate conference committee, in ironing out the differences between the two bills, recommended the pro-Nixon House version. But in an unexpected move, the Senate on 11 July defeated this bill by a decisive 69-21 margin, and passed instead a compromise version, authored by Peter Dominick and James McClure, which would legalize gold effective 1 January 1975. As of REASON's press deadline, the House has not yet acted on this new proposal. Readers are urged to write or wire their congressmen urging adoption of the Senate bill. Despite the additional year's delay, the Senate bill (S. 1141) is the best alternative available at this time, and will keep the decision out of Nixon's hands.

• **KLAUSNER TALK SCHEDULED:** *REASON* editor Manuel S. Klausner will address the Libertarian Supper Club of Los Angeles on 4 September. He will speak on the topic of law from a libertarian perspective. For further information regarding Klausner's talk, contact Lloyd Licher, 12536 Woodbine St., Los Angeles, CA 90066.

• **REAGAN TAX PLAN:** California Governor Ronald Reagan's proposed tax limitation initiative (see Trends, July 1973) secured over 520,806 voter signatures, thus qualifying for a special election ballot on November 6. The initiative would amend the California constitution to impose a progressively lower ceiling on state tax collections over the next 15 years. By limiting government revenue, the controversial tax limitation plan would operate to limit government spending, thus imposing an urgently needed constraint on the ever-expanding size of state government.

• **COMING NEXT MONTH:** *REASON's* October issue will feature an exclusive interview with the noted science fiction author POUL ANDERSON. As noted last month in this space, *REASON* is planning to publish a special issue this winter devoted to Ayn Rand, her works and her influence. We invite our subscribers to take advantage of *REASON's* current gift subscription offer: your subscription will be extended for three months for *each* gift subscription you give this year. *REASON* subscriptions make excellent gifts for your friends, teachers and business associates, as well as your school or public library. Send in your order today!

"I KNOW WHAT IS BEST FOR VIETNAM... I HAVE MORE FACTS."
"I KNOW WHAT IS BEST FOR THE ECONOMY... I HAVE MORE FACTS."
"I KNOW WHAT IS BEST TO STOP INFLATION... I HAVE MORE FACTS."
"I KNOW WHAT IS BEST FOR CAMBODIA... I HAVE MORE FACTS."
"I KNOW WHAT IS BEST FOR AMERICA... I HAVE MORE FACTS."
"HOW COULD I HAVE KNOWN ABOUT WATERGATE?.. I'M JUST THE PRESIDENT!"
PANZER

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reason profile

It is not enough for a philosophical and political movement just to contain people who are capable ideologues or academicians. If such a movement is to challenge the existing culture it must also contain organizers and entrepreneurs who can market often radical ideas to a wide audience as effectively and profitably as possible.

ROBERT D. KEPHART

Thirty-nine year old Robert Kephart is just such an entrepreneur. Since 1964 he has been publisher of the influential conservative newspaper *HUMAN EVENTS* (paid circulation 100,000) with responsibility for financial management, advertising, circulation and related administrative functions.

Mr. Kephart feels that his political *goals* have not changed at all over the years, only his strategy for achieving those goals, and so under the influence of people such as Ayn Rand, Leonard Read, Murray Rothbard, and Roy Childs he moved gradually to a libertarian position.

In 1972 he founded and became publisher of *BOOKS FOR LIBERTARIANS,* which he hopes to expand in scope and content, eventually creating from it *LIBERTARIAN REVIEW,* a general monthly review similar in style to *NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS.* He also operates Audio Forum, a firm that manufactures and markets audio cassettes of speeches, seminars, debates, etc. of interest to libertarians and conservatives, and in the Fall he plans to start a bimonthly newsletter dealing with strategies for surviving depressions, devaluations, and other assorted misfortunes.

In addition to his publishing ventures Mr. Kephart is Secretary of the American Society of Humanistic Education, and is a Director of Green Valley School (which specializes in the treatment and education of severely disturbed or delinquent children). He is also a director of the National Taxpayers Union and is active in East Coast libertarian activities. He favors an ad hoc approach to issues, i.e., forming alliances when, where, and with whomever an issue can be effectively attacked.

Mr. Kephart's leisure activities include a passion for sailing (a prime motive in his current interest in moving to California) and he's a confirmed bibliophile and periodicals reader, being particularly interested at present in psychology, advertising and marketing, and political philosophy. Kephart also enjoys music (classical and rock), chess, photography and movies.

letters

ETHICAL EGOISM AND RIGHTS

Although I agree with Tibor Machan's claim that there is no incompatibility between ethical egoism and a correctly identified doctrine of rights, I should like to note several problematic points in Machan's "On Rejecting Human Rights" [*REASON,* May 1973].

(1) Machan suggests that the root of the idea that "a consistent individualist, acting in terms of ethical egoism, has to reject that his actions ought to be guided by considerations of what others have a right to" is a Stirnerite subjectivist brand of individualism. While such a doctrine, insofar as it has any determinate implications, certainly implies a rejection of the conception of rights, it is clear that one need not have this sort of egoism in mind when claiming that ethical egoism is incompatible with rights. Indeed, as we shall note, Machan's argument is not directed against those who have this sort of egoism in mind. One might intelligibly (though I think mistakenly) deny rights on the basis of the view that each person ought to maximize his own self-interest. One would argue that on this view (which, following Hospers, is usually called "impersonal ethical egoism"), the scope of rational moral considerations does not include respect for rights. One would simply hold that impersonal ethical egoism implied that the only calculations a person should engage in are calculations of personal utility and that such calculations exclude considerations of what others have a right to. As I understand it, Machan counters this argument with the claim that calculations of personal utility cannot (in normal contexts) exclude considerations of persons' rights. This argument is not directed against the Stirnerite, rather and properly it is directed against the rejector of rights who accepts impersonal ethical egoism.

(2) Machan suggests that all anarchists are committed to the rejection of the concept of rights. For he says, "Human rights are not ethically, only politically basic. There is no politics for anarchists." On the contrary, however, most libertarian anarchist objections to the limited government position are presented in the name of natural rights and the non-delegation of those rights to any single State. Surely a commitment to the employment of the concept of rights does not commit one to the limited government position. My point here is affirmed by Machan himself in the course of his final note. There he cogently argues that those who do reject human rights cannot properly call themselves anarcho-capitalists or capitalists. For, "Without the general standard of human rights, how would one identify what belongs to whom, whose privacy includes this property, what may someone trade off as he wishes etc." This argument implies that rights is an essential concept in the anarcho-capitalist doctrine. Lysander Spooner provides a historical illustration of two relevant points. His individualist anarchism depended upon his conception of natural rights and natural law, and in these conceptions he stood opposed to those individualist anarchists (such as Benjamin Tucker) who came under the partial influence of Stirner.

(3) My own paper on the relationship

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MUTE'S BENEDICTION

Given that life is a river, I am speaking of steam,
that will have no part of this general scheme of things,
that cracks through rock only to escape it,
moves upward not by law but vision.

Given life inside a figure, I refuse to speak it.
Left caught between my teeth is time enough
to recognize the cripple and the crutch,
and crack the fusion where it should not be;
to rip the hunchback's flesh and set him free.

There is no essence needs its prime entwined
among the fevered clutchings of the sick,
enshrined inside a verbal carcass floating out to sea?
if words be oysters, give the pearls to me.

Sam Kazman

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COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Compulsory education has come under increasing fire from the "educational establishment" as well as the critics on the "fringe." Disciplinary problems–what to do with the uncontrollable students–is no doubt the reason for groups such as NEA to question the compulsory attendance laws. Those critics outside of the education establishment have numerous and various reasons for their attacks. The Center for Independent Education offers the following publications on this subject:

Arons, Stephen, "Compulsory Education–The Plain People Resist." *The Saturday Review,* 15 January 1972, pp. 52-57. (10¢)

Stephen Arons, a practicing attorney, considers the Supreme Court case of Wisconsin v. Yoder. Admittedly the legal question is the quite narrow one of religious freedom. Mr. Arons claims that the case, despite the narrowness of the legal decision, does call into question the entire rationale for compulsory schooling.

It State-compelled attendance is to be conceded, the State must justify its infringement of First Amendment Rights. Mr. Arons, in pointing to the contests which arise between the State and the parent, quotes John Stuart Mill:

> A general state education is a mere contrivance for molding people to be exactly like one another; and as the mold in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government–whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation–in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body.

West, E. G. "The Political Economy of American Public School Legislation." *The Journal of Law and Economics 10* (1967): 101-128. (25¢)

Professor West gives an account of the dual consideration of compulsory payment and compulsory consumption legislation as it evolved in New York during the nineteenth century.

Dr. West points out that, until the free school campaign got underway in 1840, it seems to have been readily acknowledged that education could continue to be universal without being free and without compulsion. (For documentation, West cites the Superintendent's reports of the 1830's, particularly the 1836 report). In 1866, the year before the abolition of the rate bills (fees to the parents who were required to pay in proportion to the attendance of their children) in New York, education continued to be almost universal, although not yet compulsory.

West maintains that "the final link in the process of monopolizing education" occurred in New York with the passage of the Compulsory Education Act in 1874.

Rothbard, Murray N. *Education, Free and Compulsory.* Wichita, Kansas: Center for Independent Education, 1972. ($1.00)

In this essay, Dr. Rothbard surveys the history of compulsory education in Europe and America and traces the influence of European educators on the development of education in America.

He points out that education has historically been a tool of either religion or the state. When religious leaders have been in control of education, education has adopted the goal of molding "good men." When the state has controlled education without religious influence, molding "obedient citizens" has been its goal. The author contends that in either case the individual's growth and development are denied.

Rothbard asserts that the "key issue is simply this: shall the parent or the state be the overseer of the child? . . . There is no middle ground in this issue. The one or the other must exercise ultimate control, and no third party with authority to seize the child and rear it has ever been found."

Professor Rothbard also discusses the importance of realizing the unique and individual character of the learner. "The lack of equality–in tastes, ability and character–is not necessarily an invidious distinction, it simply reflects the scope of human diversity. Enthusiasm for equality should actually be viewed as anti-human. It tends to repress the flowering of individual personality and diversity, and indeed, of civilization itself . . ."

Compulsory Education Bibliography. Center for Independent Education. (10¢)

This brief bibliography is not intended to annotate all criticism of compulsory education. It sees criticisms as taking two forms, a proliferation of attacks on the effects of compulsory education and a few challenges on the concept itself. The latter is our concern here.

As a third in a series of topical bibliographies, the Center offers a review of a few substantive articles about compulsory education.

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of ethical egoism and rights, which Machan cites as appearing in the Fall, 1972 issue of *THE PERSONALIST,* actually appears in the Winter, 1973 issue of that journal.

Eric Mack
Eisenhower College
Seneda Falls, NY

DR. MACHAN replies: Professor Mack is right that the arguments which have recently come to fore in opposition to human rights do not explicitly embrace the Stirnerite egoistic approach. I contend that in the end they could only be successful from within such a subjectivist egoistic framework—and Professor Mack must agree, I think, since he himself finds the argument based on impersonal ethical egoism fallacious. The point is that outside the Stirnerite framework egoism implies human rights.

About the issue with anarchists and human rights—it seems to me that anarcho capitalists may very well wish that anarchism and capitalism might be combined, but I see no way that they could achieve that end without either giving up human rights (ergo, capitalism) or the possible protection and preservation of human rights (ergo, anarchism). As to their attacks on government, I have never encountered any argument by anarcho capitalists that achieved the purpose of showing that no government could be morally feasible—although many have tried (e.g., Rothbard, Tannehill, *et al*); whereas I have good reason to think that human rights could only be protected and preserved (as organizing principles of a human community) by what is most accurately called a government. (Defense agency notions, with due respect to Rothbard & Co. as economists, sound to me entirely confused.) As I have argued elsewhere, as an anarchist one has no room for human rights; as an anarcho capitalist the burden of proof cannot be denied and one must show that human rights will be protected (i.e., that a means for dealing effectively with those who use or threaten to use force is found without violating morality) and preserved. Eric Mack misunderstands me: I argue that anarcho-capitalism is incoherent, impossible, self-contradictory. That goes for libertarian anarchists, as well. (Spooner was not trying to formulate but merely offer criticism of one particular kind of government. So we cannot say that he is properly designated an anarchist. Simply refusing to sanction the U.S. system does not make one an anarchist—nor does calling oneself a libertarian suffice to make one such.)

RIGHT TO SECEDE

The problem of Hospers vs. Rothbard [*REASON,* May 1973] disappears if we discard the idea of Limited Government as a single philosophical position. Actually there are infinite numbers of limited government formulas and zero government is one of them.

If libertarians are elected, should they determine under which of these limited government formulas I must live? The answer is no, because individuals calling themselves libertarian could declare limited government to mean The Welfare State.

The only solution would be to secede and form another government with a different formula. So secession provides a choice between a number of limited government formulas and natural selection would eventually determine the optimum formula. The optimum may turn out to be zero government but we need not debate the issue. What we need to do is obtain the right to secede.

Herbert Brougham
El Cerrito, CA

ACCOLADES

Accolades are due for your editorial: "The Need for Truth" [*REASON,* June 1973]. I am inclined to speculate that Watergate may well prove to be the libertarian watershed in 20th Century political affairs. It certainly bodes a considerable change in the political climate.

D. Frank Robinson
Assistant to the Editor
PRIVATE PRACTICE
Oklahoma City, OK

ELLSBERG INTERVIEW LAUDED

I want to congratulate you for the excellent and very revealing interview with Daniel Ellsberg in the June issue. I certainly think that it deserves to be printed separately so that more people would be able to read it. Are reprints available?

I especially applaud Ellsberg's stand on amnesty for draft evaders and an end to the draft. I was struck by his motive of urgency in revealing his information. I know how appalled I was when reading a book about F.D.R., disclosing how he tragically changed the whole course of American and world history. Time is running short. We do not have thirty years to unravel the threads of government secrecy. By that time there may be no U.S.A. Unfortunately, governments do not learn from history. Each has had to find out for itself the bitter consequences of not learning this basic lesson. I am slowly becoming an anarchist the more I learn of governments.

Jean P. King
Philadelphia, Pa.

Reprints of the Ellsberg interview are not separately available, but discounts are available on bulk purchases (10 or more) of the entire June issue. The cost for 10 or more copies is 50¢ each, postage-paid.[Ed.]

STATIST AGGRESSION

The Rothbard-Pastor exchange [*REASON,* June 1973] on the relative aggressiveness of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. can be partly settled by reference to yet unpublished material. I have just completed a listing of all world conflicts from 1820 to 1973 involving more than 20 killed; the first attempt at a complete analysis.

The number of conflicts involving the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. (and Switzerland for comparison) between 1917 and 1973 is as follows:

More than 20 killed:

	U.S.S.R.	U.S.A.	Switzerland
Internal riots, and civil wars	16	14	1
External wars on own territory i.e. an invasion	8	0	1
External wars where crossed own national boundaries i.e. *prima facie* aggression	35	32	0
	59	46	2

In brief we may conclude:

(a) Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have crossed their own boundaries to engage in foreign wars on about an equal number of occasions (32 to 35 respectively).

(b) The U.S. has been more successful in keeping out invaders.

(c) Both have had comparable numbers of civil wars and riots but those in the U.S.S.R. have been much more costly in human terms (not reflected in above figures which give *numbers* of conflicts).

(d) The comparative Swiss data comprises

a communist rising in 1932 and an attack by U.S. bombers in 1944.

The results obviously confirm libertarian expectations about the operation of statist regimes.

Antony C. Sutton
Cupertino, CA

REPLY TO MAFIA

Speaking on behalf of da Government, we guys don't take kindly to the sort of talk you punks in da Mafia are starting to spread [*REASON,* Letters, July '73]. Remember who it was that made you what you are today. Where would you be if we didn't grant you monopolies on alcohol, gambling, drugs to name a few. We don't mind tossing you dese crumbs to make you grow—just don't start thinkin you're so big you can start workin our side of da street.

(Anonymous)

EVALUATING MUSIC

Re: John Hospers' July letter. The esthetic judgments in his letter appall me—not in content, but in process. What he said about *BUTTERFLIES ARE FREE* was correct and about *THE EMIGRANTS* partly correct (Must the artist bore you to death in order to portray the boring drudgery of life in Sweden?). In any case, these judgments can be objectively proven. But what he said about music *cannot,* as Rand has shown. All one can say is "*I* feel ennobled by the *MESSIAH,*" not "Bach, but not Rachmaninoff, is of towering eminence."

Please don't misunderstand me—I think music should be listened and responded to for what it is—music. As Hospers properly notes, music's religious origins, etc. have nothing to do with its merit. But neither can anyone declare the objective value of a piece of music. For Hospers, as a philosopher and esthetician, to do so is disgraceful.

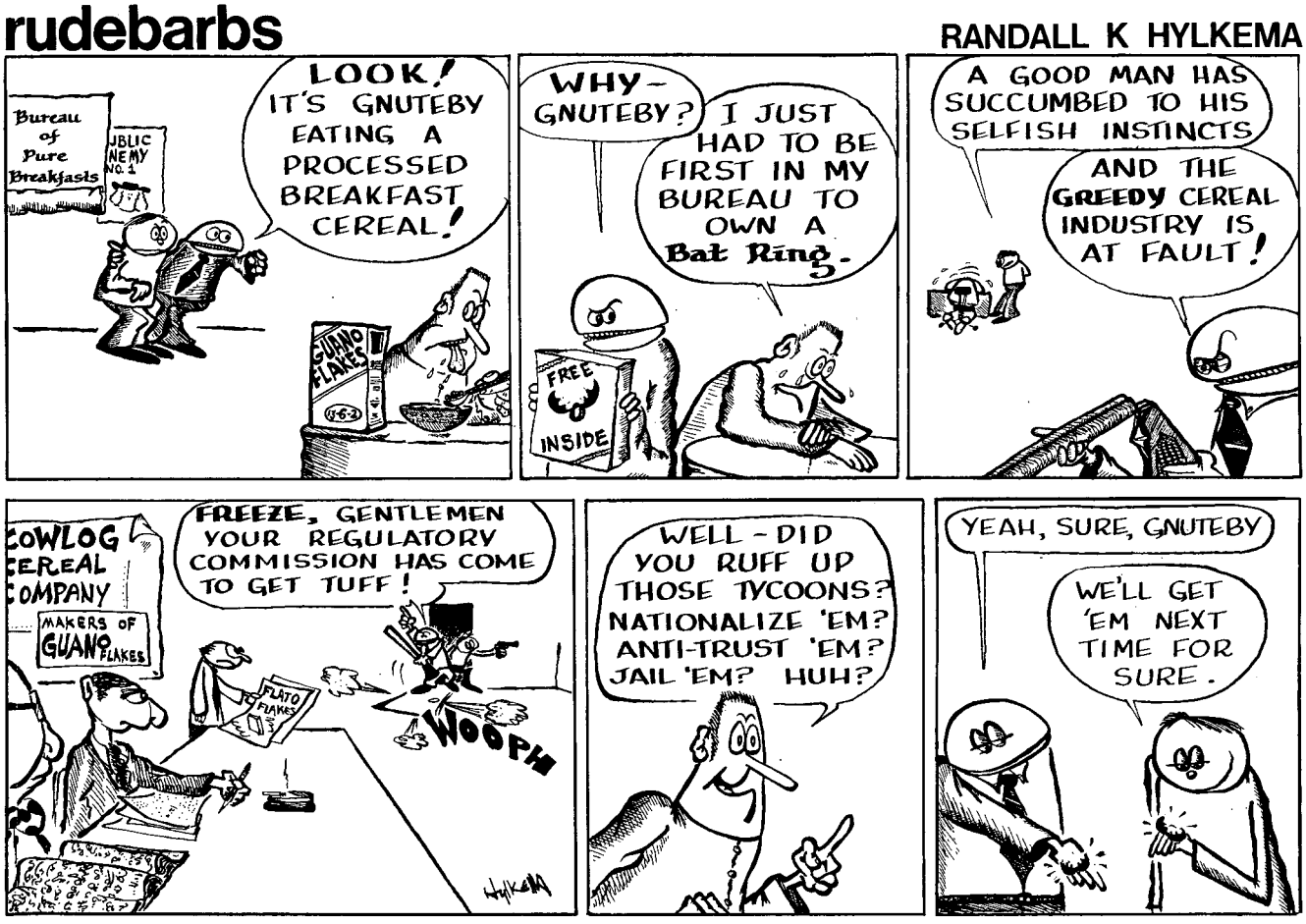
Marsha Familaro
Oak Park, IL

WATER OR WINE?

I propose that Charles Barr's MOVIES column is informational, not argumentative. Barr voices his opinions, and seems to know that's what they are; there are better and worse opinions, but opinion is opinion. John Hospers (*REASON,* Letters, July 1973) seems to think that one can *argue* over the subject. After denying that Barr's pick for best film of the year was correct, Hospers goes on to reply that "the best of the best was . . ." and highly praises "the most highly inspired masterpieces" of music, naming Bach and Handel at the expense of "assorted nineteenth-century works" of the Romantic school which "are as water unto wine compared with the works of towering eminence I have mentioned." Even if this were not art criticism but theoretical esthetics, Hospers has apparently forgotten that no evaluations of artistic creations are worth listening to unless the standard and means of measurement for gauging "eminence" and "masterpieces" are supplied. I happen to prefer water to wine, and I think Hospers cannot come up with an analytical, nondogmatic (i.e., non-Objectivist) way to legitimately claim his preferences are anything preferable to those who like myself have been di-hydro-oxygenized.

L. A. Schiereck
San Diego, CA

Letters from readers are welcome. They should be kept as brief as possible and are subject to condensation. Send letters to REASON, P.O. Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.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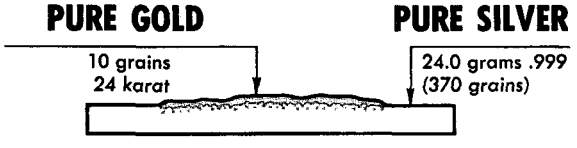

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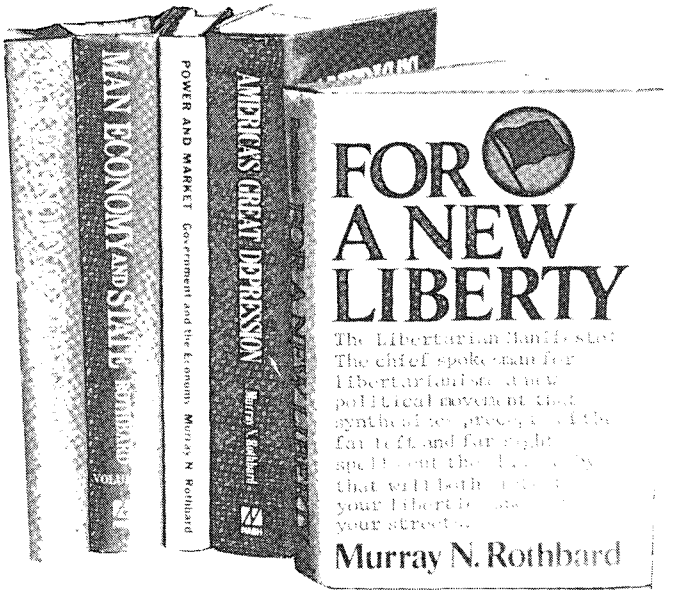
Meet

Murray N. Rothbard

Economist. Historian. Polemicist. Social Critic. Architect of Liberty



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Adapted from a review in *Books For Libertarians*, April, 1973

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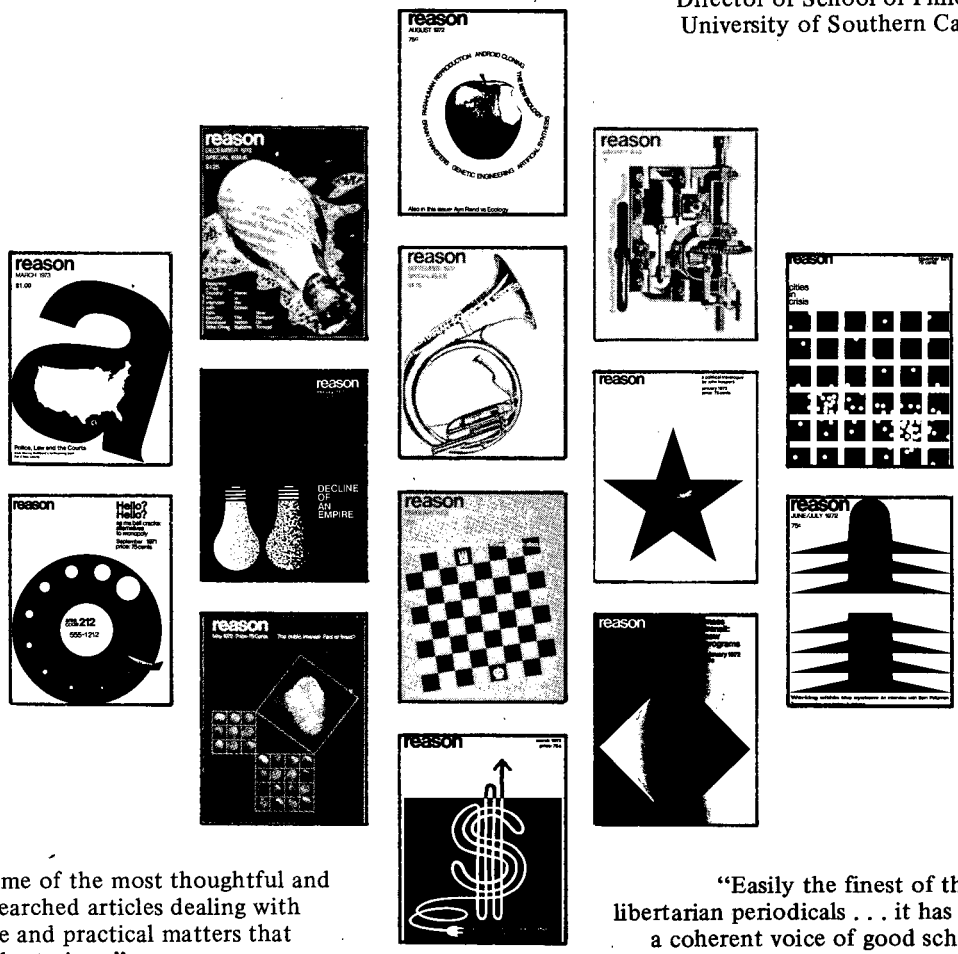

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